

Saint Anne's College

A History



1879-1953

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SAINT ANNE'S COLLEGE
A History

I (1879—1921)

II (1921—1946)

SUPPLEMENT (1946—1953)

Printed as One Volume

EDITOR'S NOTE

THIS edition (1957) combines in one volume the two previously issued. Vol. I is out of print; of Vol. II a reserve of unbound copies had been specially set aside. These could not be altered, being already in print, and readers might well have felt the story incomplete and some of the opinions expressed in it out of date. They will, therefore, share my gratitude to Miss Mary Leys for her account of the historic period 1946-1953, and my regret that the space available was strictly limited by finance.

R.F.B.

THE SOCIETY
OF
OXFORD HOME-STUDENTS

Retrospects and Recollections

VOL. I (1879—1921)

Edited by

R. F. BUTLER AND M. H. PRICHARD
(Society of Oxford Home-Students)

*'Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole
of the pit whence ye are digged.'*

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1930

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PREFACE

THIS 'History' was planned as a present to Mrs Johnson on her eightieth birthday (January 20th, 1926); but the Editors found it impossible to produce it without her counsel and help. It was discussed with her, and she herself advised that it should not be undertaken in her life-time,—adding that her papers would be at the Editors' disposal, and that her personal share in the work could be described with greater freedom when she should be gone. The collection of letters and papers, covering the whole period from 1878-1920, has been kindly handed over to them by Sir Robert Johnson; they are most sensible of its value.* The opportunity to write freely they prize for a different reason from that envisaged by our first Principal. To write the history of our Society is to write the history of Mrs Johnson, who, though she disclaimed the title in the ordinary sense of the word, was most truly its spiritual foundress—its inspiration and its personification. The telling of the tale becomes thus a 'pious act,' a tribute to the memory of one whom, living, we never dared to praise or thank as we desired.

We should, perhaps, apologize for some inevitable overlapping. Our readers would never have forgiven us, had we given them the story of early days in any words but Mrs Johnson's own. Chapter II will be told from various of her papers, and from her last speech to her students in 1921. To fuse these into a literary whole has seemed neither needful nor, indeed, possible. The fullest and most complete of her many reminiscences are contained in a paper read to the Oxford Women's History Club in 1918, and afterwards amended and

* These papers, and a larger collection by Miss Rogers, are now in the 'Archives' of St. Anne's College (1957).

developed into a chapter contributed by her to *Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History* (Oxford University Press, 1923). This paper is therefore no longer available for publication, though some of the same stories appear in our pages from no desire on our part for plagiarism, but because they were favourites of Mrs Johnson's. Our thanks are due to the Editors of the *Oxford Souvenir*, published for the N.U.T. Conference in 1925, for permission to reprint a portion of an article contributed by Mrs Johnson. We think that these two fragments contain some of her best and most characteristic utterances.

The result of this selection is that Chapter III must, from the historical point of view, be supplementary to Chapter II. It will be in the main biographical,—an attempt to draw a picture of Mrs Johnson herself, her character and development,—of the growth of the Society in her hands and of the permanent impress which it received from her. Her own old students will take up the tale.

A word as to Chapter I—which stands by itself. There was, again, an inevitability in the choice of the Society's constitutional historian. We are most grateful to Miss Rogers for her care in elucidating facts and dates and for the great help which she has given us from her own memories and her papers. The first chapter was actually presented to Mrs Johnson on her eightieth birthday, and has since been brought up to date. Miss Burrows has contributed an account of the careers of Home-Students in after life. This has been a difficult task, involving much laborious research, and we owe her many thanks for its accomplishment.

January, 1930

R.F.B.
M.H.P.

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIETY IN ITS RELATION TO THE UNIVERSITY

ON June 22nd, 1878, a meeting was held in Jesus College, Oxford, at which the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford was founded in order to provide a system of lectures for women, to be conducted with general reference to the Oxford Examinations for Women over Eighteen, which had been recently instituted by the University. This Association, which played a very important part in developing Women's University Education in Oxford and in securing to them the privileges they now enjoy, continued its activities till November 20th, 1920, when it was dissolved, the University having itself undertaken responsibility for the education of its women students. The Association, familiarly known as the A.E.W., was the parent of the Society of Oxford Home-Students and guided it into the protecting arms of the University.

Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville Hall (now College) were opened in October, 1879, the former with nine students, the latter with twelve. There were also twenty-five students not resident in the Halls, most of whom lived in their own homes, though some had come to reside with relatives for the purpose of attending the lectures of the Association. Such were the beginnings of the Society of Oxford Home-Students as recorded in the first report of the A.E.W. Women came then, as now, to Oxford to study without having any connection with a residential Hall or College, and were encouraged

to do so. Arrangements were made for their supervision, first by Mrs Green, Secretary of the Association, and then by Mrs Johnson, who succeeded her in November, 1883.

At first, no clear distinction was made between regular students and those who merely attended a few lectures, but in 1888 registration was introduced and in 1889 the first Calendar was published, in which were given the names of 'students not attached to a Hall.' In the issue of 1890-1, the term HOME STUDENTS appears. It is not an ideal title, but no one has yet been able to find a better, and it does express the conditions under which the great majority of the students reside. Regulations for the students had been made in November, 1889, but it was not till June, 1893, that the Council of the Association provided any separate organization. The first Committee was formed on October 25th of that year. Mrs Johnson, then Secretary to the Association, was appointed Principal, and from October, 1894, onwards Home-Students have been annually reported on, first by the A.E.W., then by the Delegacy for Women Students, and lastly by their own Delegates. The average number in 1893-1894 was forty-four, and among these were included ten students of the infant St. Hilda's. In Michaelmas Term, 1896, the temporary guardianship ceased with the recognition of St. Hilda's as a Hall represented on the Association Council. St. Kentigern's Hostel, a house opened by Miss Tate for Home-Students under certain special conditions, was closed. The first mention of a Common Room occurs in the 1899 report. The title of Society of Oxford Home-Students was adopted by the A.E.W. Council on November 30th, 1898, twelve years before the University gave formal

recognition to five Societies of Women Students under a title which was applicable to all alike.

The Government of the Society was on November 1st, 1910, assigned by Statute to the new Delegacy for Women Students. Mrs Johnson was re-appointed Principal by Decree of Convocation of the same date, and became the only *ex-officio* woman member of the Delegacy. She was the first woman to be appointed by the University to an office, and the first woman member of a Delegacy. The Statute provided for a Committee of Delegates and others to act as the Governing Body of the Society, and the annual reports of this Committee were published in the University Gazette, under the Reports of the Delegates for Women Students.

The Society was not constituted by the University, but was recognized, equally with the women's Colleges, as already existing. In Michaelmas Term, 1910, it contained ninety-one students, fifty-one of whom were reading for Honour Examinations and thirteen for the Diploma in Geography.

The Committee at its second meeting, March 3rd, 1911, adopted, and the Delegates subsequently approved, a constitution for the Society, which was modified when women were admitted to membership of the University. It devoted considerable attention to finance, and secured from the funds of the Delegates a yearly contribution towards a salary for the Principal, and from the Cassel Educational Trust a grant of £500 a year. A capital sum of £10,000 was substituted for this in 1925, and the Ernest Cassel Trust Fund was constituted by the University. The Committee raised a small Endowment Fund for the Principal and obtained a small scholarship from the Gilchrist Trustees. It shared in

the Appeal for Funds made by the five Women's Societies in 1920, and issued an appeal of its own. The money raised was used to form the Tutorial Fund Trust.

The first appointments of Tutors of the Society were made on May 30th, 1913, and were limited to ladies who were not on the staff of any other recognized Society. The office gave a status, but no salary.

The period of transition from the government of the Society by the A.E.W. to the establishment of a special Delegacy was of great importance to the development of the Home-Students as a body, and gave the women members of the Governing Body an experience of University business which prepared them in some measure for the changes consequent on the admission of women to membership of the University. This was effected in 1920, and in the same year the A.E.W. was dissolved. The Society had to find a clerk, offices and lecture rooms. Its officers were responsible for a great deal more business and for the handling of much more money, inasmuch as fees and dues had to be collected for the University, and payments for tuition, formerly made by the students through the A.E.W., had to be arranged. The business of admission to degrees was greatly complicated by the variety of decrees affecting former students who had not fully qualified. The University not only gave every facility for completing the degree course, but accepted the record of residence kept, and many old students availed themselves of this.

On October 14th, 1920, the Principals of the Societies received the degree of M.A. by decree, Mrs Johnson heading the list, and several old students took their degrees. Unfortunately none of the tutors holding office at the time were qualified, but the degree of M.A.

was shortly after conferred upon them. The officers of the Society had previously, though not without an appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, secured that the Latin title for the Home-Students should not, as with the Non-Collegiate, be negative, but positive—*Societas mulierum Oxoniae privatim studentium*. The academical dress for undergraduates was settled by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. Women graduates are entitled to wear the stiff cap, but have complied with an official request to wear the soft cap.

One very satisfactory result of the admission of women to membership of the University was the opening of nearly all College lectures to them without fee and the insertion of women's lectures in the Faculties lists. Women became members of Congregation and Convocation and of the Faculties, and were eligible for Boards, Delegacies and Committees. In the course of 1925 women members of Convocation became eligible for the Hebdomadal Council. Nearly all the University Scholarships and Prizes were opened to women, but unfortunately the degrees of B.D. and D.D. are still closed.

A period of reorganization followed, which resulted in the abolition of the Delegacy for Women Students and the constitution of the special Delegacy for Home-Students, with the Vice-Chancellor as *ex-officio* Chairman; a University grant of £250 a year (subsequently raised to £400) towards the Principal's salary, and the transference of responsibility for approving houses for the residence of women students to the Delegacy of Lodgings. Permission was given to the Society to occupy several rooms in 1 Jowett Walk (a house which is the property of the University); the

Nettleship Library was removed to the same building, and two lecture rooms in the Clarendon Buildings, formerly used by the A.E.W., were assigned to the Home-Students. On March 31st, 1921, Mrs Johnson vacated the office of Principal. The Bertha Johnson Scholarship was founded to commemorate her services to the Society. She was succeeded by Miss C. M. E. Burrows, M.A., formerly Principal of St. Hilda's Hall (now College) and at one time a member of the Society. She held office till June 30th, 1929, and was succeeded by Miss G. E. Hadow, M.A., Somerville College, sometime Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall.

The first meeting of the Home-Students' Delegacy was held on October 28th, 1921, and the offer made by Sir John Simon of £1,000 to found the Ethel Simon Fund in memory of his first wife was accepted. A new period in the history of the Society then began. Much has been done in the last eight years to strengthen and consolidate its work, especially as regards conditions of entrance, corporate feeling, social life, tutorial organization and finance. The University holds eight Funds in trust for it. It has for four years received £200 a year from the Government Grant to the University and benefits by the University Pension Scheme. A Statute passed in 1926 (revised, Michaelmas Term, 1927) confirms the decision of the Delegates to fix the maximum number of undergraduates who may be in residence at any time at 220, apart from a few exceptional cases, and provides for four Tutors being members of the Delegacy.

The development of women's education in Oxford has been one of the most remarkable things in the recent history of the University, and the Society of Oxford

Home-Students has taken its share in the work. May it always prove a worthy daughter—or we should perhaps say a daughter-in-law—of the great University that has welcomed it!

A.M.A.H.R.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDATIONS

(Part of Mrs Johnson's article in '*The Oxford Souvenir*, 1925.')

SINCE I am one of the very few survivors of the company of friends who were responsible for bringing women into the life of our ancient University of Oxford, I think you may like my short account of the movement to be written from a personal standpoint.

The year 1878, when the first really serious step was taken, seems a long way off now, and to understand the difficulties and the need for careful action one must try to place oneself into a state of public opinion, not obstructive, or narrow, but faced by circumstances of life very different to those of the present day, and to realise traditions which had a great deal that was attractive in them. I often think, when I find nineteenth century parents abused for restricting the freedom of their young daughters too much, that there were dangers then which do not exist now;—to put it crudely, as the inhabitant of an East End slum once did to Miss Octavia Hill, 'Oh! Miss, *now* it is like Heaven, there is a lamp-post and a policeman at every corner!' There is little doubt that if our motto had not been: '*Chi va piano, va sano*,' we should hardly now be complete graduates and part of the governing body of the University.

But it was even before 1878 that a kind of experimental move was made. One or two enterprising sisters

and wives of Professors and Fellows had as early as 1866 obtained permission to attend some of the University lectures and had organized classes for women. The leader of this movement was Miss Eleanor Smith, a very remarkable lady, both as to education and culture and as to a devoted philanthropy, sister of Professor Henry Smith of Balliol. This experiment had no permanent result. A more serious move was made in 1873 by a company of friends, the chief movers being Mrs Creighton, Mrs Humphrey Ward, Mrs T. H. Green, and Mrs Edward Talbot, and it was my pleasant lot to be associated with them. It was part of a general move all over England for a higher education for women, which was connected later with the newly established Local Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. This Oxford scheme had a useful and successful career of lectures and classes, given by some of the most distinguished University men, and led directly into the more complete scheme of 1878. I always think that the movement generally owed a great deal to this early piece of work. Prominent University men took much interest in it; the University lent us rooms in the Clarendon Building for lectures and classes, and gave us orders to read in the Bodleian Library, and special terms were given to all teachers, elementary and others. The spade work was, of course, done by the younger members of the Committee, who also improved their own minds by attendance at the lectures. Some of them even submitted to a severe 'Collection' from my husband, who gave the first lectures of the scheme. Amongst the later students, two who stand out, having 'Alphas' on their essays, were Miss Wordsworth, afterwards Principal of Lady Margaret for over thirty years, and

Miss Margaret Bradley, now Mrs Margaret Woods, well known as a poet and novelist. But it was slightly discouraging to hear, rather later, from one of our lecturers, Mr Laing, of Corpus Christi College (who had said that he enjoyed lecturing for us and that one short poem he had received from Miss Bradley had been worth all his trouble in lecturing), that he saw all the evil effects of examination upon women and feared that our lectures had not improved them, for that there used to be feminine character and originality about their writing, and now they tried to be manly and were only the ordinary man! (Is this a warning to us still?) Other well-known men who gave these early lectures to women were Professor Stubbs, the famous historian, and Mr Thorold Rogers, the well-known economist. Thus when the further move was made, a considerable amount of University opinion was in favour of it, and it was by no means a feminist move, for the principal actors were for a considerable time important University officials, and it was this harmonious, combined work of men and women which led the way to the very remarkable unanimity and peacefulness of the final vote in June, 1920, which admitted women to practically all the privileges of the University.

By 1878, Cambridge had already led the way by the transfer of Girton College to the close neighbourhood of the University, and by the foundation of Newnham College in its midst. Mr T. H. Green, of Balliol College, the well-known Professor of Philosophy, and others had been approached by a proposed benefactor, who had no real connection with the University of Oxford, on behalf of a scheme for a College for Women in Oxford. The increase in the number of the candidates

for the Local Examinations and the possibility of better opportunities of study for them, made us all feel that a residential college, especially if fathered by Oxford itself, would be a great gain and might lead to valuable progress in the future. In June, 1878, an important meeting of all our supporters was held with the hope of founding one college, supported by us all. But those were the days of religious anxieties and of questions of denominationalism and undenominationalism, and it was determined to establish two 'residence' halls, which could later develop into colleges, Lady Margaret Hall representing the Church of England, with a conscience clause for students of other religious bodies, and Somerville Hall, which was purely undenominational. Each had its own Committee, and the two Committees contained practically all the women who had worked the scheme of lectures in 1873, with the exception of Mrs Creighton, who had left Oxford. This foundation of two Halls with separate committees looked like a serious split, but the situation was saved by the mutual agreement that there should be a central, united 'Association for the Higher Education of Women,' which should be entirely responsible for the organization of and care for the University education of the students and its finances, and for the general rules of discipline and conduct. A third body of students was also provided for, those who preferred family life to College life, or for whom, for various circumstances, College life was impossible, but who resided or should come to reside in Oxford. Professor Green, among others, was specially anxious that these should have all the advantages of the proposed educational scheme; they were mentioned in the first circulars with the expressed hope that the

class would grow and the assurance that arrangements would be carefully made for their supervision. Some folk called them 'the unattached,' a name too suggestive of an undergraduate joke, so we welcomed the suggestion of 'Oxford Home-Students' made later by Dr Jackson (afterwards Rector of Exeter and Chairman of the Association). These students were placed under the direct charge of the lady Honorary Secretary of the 'Association for the Higher Education of Women in Oxford,' and became later 'The Society of Oxford Home-Students.' Each student of the three bodies, or more technically 'Societies,' was registered as a student of the Association and was bound to keep the rules and regulations of the combined committee of management, on which sat all the prominent members of the Hall committees. Its first Hon. Secretary was Professor T. H. Green, and succeeding him Mr S. H. Butcher, Fellow and Tutor of University College, whose brilliant translation of *The Odyssey* is well-known, and the woman secretary was Mrs T. H. Green, and afterwards myself. Mr Butcher, who left Oxford to be Professor of Greek in Edinburgh, was succeeded by Mr Arthur Sidgwick, of Corpus Christi College, a brilliant classical teacher and a charming lecturer on English literature, than whom no one did more for the women's cause in Oxford. The Vice-Chancellor also consented to be represented on the Committee.

All the gradual opening of the University examinations to women, the permission to attend College lectures, the private 'coaching' by University dons, was the work of the Association, and as the Halls and Home-Students increased in number, two new 'Halls,' St. Hugh's, founded by Miss Wordsworth, and St. Hilda's

by Miss Beale, of Cheltenham College, became part of the scheme. Resident women tutors were appointed in each Hall, these tutors forming part of the general scheme, and being available for 'coaching' any of the students. As the work done by the Association officials was entirely gratuitous, and the small amount of clerical help and the hire of lecture rooms was shared by all the five Societies, it will be seen how valuable was the financial benefit which they secured by this co-operation. Perhaps still more valuable was the common purpose and understanding and unity of effort established by it for certainly the first ten or more years. The financial benefits continued longer, under the able administration of Miss Rogers (daughter of the late Professor Thorold Rogers). Thanks to Miss Rogers as Honorary Secretary and later on to Professor Geldart as President, very important work was done by the Council of the Association towards a steadily growing recognition by the University. The various steps were exceedingly interesting to us, who were actors in the gradual advance; in the quite early days we were capable of betaking ourselves to a high point in the country above Oxford and lighting a bonfire to celebrate the opening of 'Greats' to women. But curiously enough, when the final triumph came in June, 1920, we took it all quite quietly; alas! the War had sobered us.

But there was another considerable body of members of the University who, although they had no actual power, certainly required consideration, and those were the undergraduates. One must confess that their attitude to our work and aspirations was not a propitious one. It was about this time that Mrs Arthur Evans had permission to attend a lecture of Mr Arthur Sidgwick's

in Corpus, and was surprised to find all the young men standing in the quadrangle and not one entering the Hall. Presently, when Mr Sidgwick arrived, they followed him, carefully placing themselves as far from the intruder as possible! In some ways, however, I always felt that this attitude was a help rather than a hindrance to us in our early days, and in their behaviour to us they were always gentlemen. I remember an Italian friend's remark to me: 'I admire your modest young men!' The colleges were their own, they felt, where they and their men friends were undisturbed, and though 'sisters or cousins,' *duly chaperoned*, might be welcome to tea or lunch on occasions, they did not at all want unknown young women straying in for lectures or 'coaching.' And this was the temper of the best undergraduates. It was also the opinion of Oxford resident society, and very strongly did responsible college officials respect it. The first Principals of our Halls—Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth, of Lady Margaret Hall, daughter of the Bishop of Lincoln, and a great-niece of the poet, and Miss Madeline Shaw Lefevre, of Somerville, sister of Lord Eversley, to whose careful and judicious lead and general influence the early success of the movement is pre-eminently due—thoroughly agreed in upholding this tradition, although it certainly meant for us all a vast amount of labour as chaperons at lectures in colleges. We only hope we have been repaid by improved knowledge thereat imbibed! By degrees it was possible to drop many of the regulations, and caps and gowns now solve many difficulties. Strangely few jokes were made, even in the earliest times, at the expense of the young women students. Lady Margaret Hall obtained the name of the 'red, white and *blue*,' when

a new red-brick addition was made to the original white house, but the name, though quite good, never survived. A rhyme may amuse, which appeared in the *Oxford Magazine* at a time when the University refused the B.A. and offered the women a special diploma:

BALLAD OF BLUE B.A.'s.

(Air, 'Jock of Hazeldean.')

'Why weep ye in your home, ladye,
Why weep ye in your home?
I'll gie ye Firsts in my new Schools,
An' ye shall ha' Diplom'.
An' ye shall ha' Diplom', ladye,
An' comely fees to pay';
But aye she loot the tears doun fa'
Sair greetin' for B.A.

'A stamp of wax ye shall not lack,
Nor parchment rich and rare,
Nor arms in front, nor broidered back,
Nor signatures sae fair,
That ye're the foremost of them a'
Vice-Chancellor shall say';
But aye she loot the tears doun fa'
For love of that B.A.

The House was decked at morning light,
The papers glimmered fair;
The Proctors waited a' the night,
The bulldogs baith were there;
They sought in College and in Ha',
The ladye wadna stay;
She's o'er the borders and awa'
To win a Scots B.A. *

* A. Sidgwick: *More Echoes from 'The Oxford Magazine'* (Henry Frowde, 1896).

During the years of our work in Oxford, many changes have been made in the curriculum for the B.A. degree, and these have all been an advantage to the women. At first, the degree course meant a fair standard of Latin and Greek for 'Responsions' for all students and a further advance in both for the 'First Public Examination (Moderations),' with no alternatives, except in the case of Mathematical or Natural Science students; and the only subjects for the Final Examinations were Latin and Greek, Ancient History and Philosophy, Theology, Modern History, Law and Natural Science. A final examination in English Language and Literature and in French and German, obviously very much needed for those who were to be teachers in girls' schools, had to be furnished by the University Delegates of Local Examinations. The original curriculum was certainly not well adapted for young women who had not had the classical training of boys, and would be expected to teach English, History or Foreign Languages, and but very little in the way of Classics. But happily the University allowed these women to get a valuable Honour Certificate by proceeding straight to a final 'Honour School,' or to one of the two provided by the Local Delegacy, without requiring all the ordinary preliminary examinations. So we were able to provide well-equipped teachers for both our own students and the girls' schools. Now Greek is no longer compulsory, modern languages are given their due, though, quite rightly, *one* ancient language is compulsory; there are a great variety of final 'Schools,' and there are degrees, B.Litt. and B.Sc., for special students, which are proving very useful to Americans, of whom the Society of Oxford Home-Students, especially, has always

had a steady number. There are, besides, Geography and other diplomas, which may also be used as part of the pass degree. But the standard always is high. The women have had considerable success in all subjects, including the medical degrees, and to our Doctor in Civil Law, and our Doctor in Music, we soon hope to add Doctors in Philosophy and in Medicine.*

Part of Mrs Johnson's farewell speech to students on her resignation in March, 1921.

It is a long and interesting time to look back upon; the beginning and then the steady growth of women's education in this University and the establishment of their position in it, culminating last October; and now it is for us to show that the whole nation is the better for it. This was the dream of those who gave of their best to the work in the early days. A few of these pioneers we have with us still, I am glad to say, helping in the cause; my dear friend, Mrs T. H. Green, the first to have charge of the Home-Students; her husband, Professor of Moral Philosophy, was our mainstay at the beginning. That the Home-Students were placed at the very outset in the same position, and had the same care and rights and privileges as the Hall, afterwards called College, students, I always attribute to him. The original equality was a point ably made by our Chairman, Professor Geldart, when we gave evidence before the Royal Commission the other day, and is a

* Several women have now obtained a Doctor's degree, including Miss Seeta Ajgaonkar, of our Society, in March, 1927, the D.Phil. degree; Mrs Eastwood, also a Home-Student, the D.M. degree in December, 1927; and Miss Lodge (L.M.H.) the degree of Doctor of Letters, in June, 1928.

fact which I hope may never be forgotten. Miss Rogers is another of the pioneers, her father, Professor of Political Economy, also having been one of the most important of them, and we owe to her later much of our more complete organization, and certainly a great deal of the work which has finally brought us the membership of the University. To Dr Jackson, the later Rector of Exeter College, also one of our earliest friends, we owe the name of 'Home-Students,' a name which I greatly prize. Nothing in this life is perfect, and there are considerations which make home life, even when the home is not our own, better for young women than College life, though again advantages exist in College life; in fact, one wants a possible variety in every line of life.

And now let me look back and see the pioneers and helpers, whose individuality and work comes so vividly before me, but who are no longer with us. To take just a few, some of whose names may be known to you as authors and teachers: there was the brilliant Professor S. H. Butcher, whose translation of the *Odyssey* some of you may have read; there was Dr Franck Bright, sometime Master of University College, who must be known to all who read *Modern History*; there was Professor Henry Nettleship, whose memory we cherish in the Nettleship Library, and who admitted women to his lectures in Corpus long before our movement began even; there was Miss Eleanor Smith, the friend and coadjutor of the Founders of Newnham and Girton, as valiant in philanthropic work as she was in the cause of education, and about whom I could tell you many an amusing as well as edifying tale. At first sight what an alarming person she was; she seemed to look you

through and through, to see how much you were worth. Then there was Dr Mark Pattison, the learned Rector of Lincoln College, and if you had seen and known him, you would hardly believe me, when I tell you that it was he who warned me to entreat my young women to be neat and tidy and careful in their dress and courteous in their manners. His wife was eminent for artistic taste, for culture and for elegance in dress, and was a leader in raising the position of working women. The Doctor was a good friend. I shall always be grateful to him. The name of Mrs Humphrey Ward you will all know and you would find much to interest you in her description of Oxford in the early days of our movement in her 'Recollections of a Writer', though she only touches rather superficially on the early work.

Another influence at the time was the 'Paterian', as we used to call it, and those who have read Walter Pater's beautiful essays and his 'Marius' will not wonder at this. He had two very interesting sisters, and the younger, Miss Clara Pater, took part in our work from the first and was eventually a much-loved tutor of the A.E.W. (and finally of Somerville). The aesthetic in dress, in decoration, and in furniture went very much with the general move towards better education for everyone and better opportunities, and led certainly I think, to happier and more appreciative lives for people of ordinary means and hard-worked days, both men and women.

We never enlisted the real sympathy of Dr Jowett, the famous Master of Balliol—I hardly know why—but his successor, Dr Caird, was a warm friend and delightful to work with, and always a supporter of our society of Oxford Home-Students, of which he was the chairman

One who constantly helped us with the actual spade work, generously giving time and trouble, was Mrs Arthur Evans, the wife of the present Keeper of the Ashmolean, a daughter of Professor Freeman, the historian; her name you all know in the 'Margaret Evans Prize'. I should also like to mention Mrs Bartholomew Price, wife of the Professor and Master of Pembroke College, and mother of one of our distinguished classical students, who coped with our money affairs before there was any Miss Bonner to help her. But the one who for years gave the most time of all to us, and with whom I had the privilege of doing constant detailed work for eleven years, was Mr Arthur Sidgwick, whose name those of you who have struggled with Greek Composition will certainly know. But I only wish you could all have heard him lecture, not only on Greek plays, but on Mrs Browning, on Cowper, on class teaching, on every kind of subject. We used to have crowded rooms, and I remember on the Mrs Browning evening, something went wrong with the gas, and he lectured holding a small lamp in his hand, and waving it, and it no more disturbed him than it detracted from the perfection of his lecture. He was chairman of our society, and his daughter, Miss Rose Sidgwick, who died at New York after a most successful tour of visits to the American Colleges, was one of our most brilliant students. I ought to have mentioned some of our science friends, for the Museum, with Professor Rolleston, Sir Henry Acland and Mr Fisher, was warmly with us from the first. The Professors and teachers of the Modern History School were always our friends also, and some of them are with us still. And then we come to our present friends, and when we

think of all that we owe to our Chairman, Professor Geldart, and to our faithful supporters on the Governing body, and see the secured position we now have in the University, I do not think we need fear for the future of our Society.

But after all, as we know, the real prosperity of the Society depends upon its members, while they are here, and also upon their life and their influence afterwards. The Society has always been a peculiar one, with an individuality of its own, with more of the characteristics of a College than the groups of students at the modern Universities, and yet it ought never to be an imitation of a College. To make its corporate life a success needs more ingenuity and effort than in a College, more loyalty, I was going to say more unselfish thought for others, perhaps, owing to the Society's scattered nature, and to the very great variety in age, in nationality, in financial circumstances, in lines of study. The effort required to make friends, to help others to find friendships, and to get the most out of their University life, is much greater than the effort needed in a College, but on the other hand it is perhaps more like the effort needed in life generally, and a very good preparation for it. I can only say that when I look back over the forty years, I see very excellent friendships made and a great deal of mutual help. And have we been anticipating a little the work of the League of Nations, with our *alumnae* all over the world? Americans, of course, were among our first students, and a few were among the first women to take the University Examinations, and I have found them most loyal and anxious to conform to our social regulations and restrictions, in some ways different to those in their own Colleges. We have had French

preparing for University of Paris Examinations, Germans who were allowed to count their time here as part of their degree course in Germany, Swiss, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Dutch, Roumanians, Russians, and now, as you know Greeks and Italians, Indians, and students from the Colonies (I need hardly say) and Japanese; we are proud of the friendship of all and every one. But it needs a greater demand on loyalty and effort all round, and the more so that foreigners can seldom stay our regulation three years, but have often only one year here as a part of us. I can only, in looking back, greatly admire the power the Society has had of welcoming and amalgamating and in many cases holding the affections of those from distant lands. I am sure it will be the object of every one of you, the present owners of our name, to keep up and increase the credit of your Society both in this University and in the world outside. But all said and done, it is the spirit of our beautiful old University which is over us all, which inspires and holds us together, and fills us with gratitude for the past and the present—our University with its strengthening and ennobling motto, '*Dominus Illuminatio Mea*'.

CHAPTER III

MRS JOHNSON AND HER WORK, 1878—1921

Introductory

IF Mrs Johnson's farewell speech to her students in 1921 resolved itself—as of course—into a sketch of the history of the Society, in her turn the disciple who attempts this fuller study must, of necessity, be largely biographical. The pioneers of the higher education of women have left upon it, each one, the impress of a vigorous personality. What was the special character and equipment which enabled Bertha Johnson so deeply to influence its development in Oxford?

She was born in London in 1846 ('the year of the Irish famine', as she would characteristically describe it) — the daughter of a well-known Irish physician, Robert Bentley Todd, Professor of Physiology at King's College, London. Her early recollections stretched back to the 'Great Duke', and included many distinguished men and many picturesque scenes, described by her with much vividness at one of our Gaudies. From her early life and upbringing she imbibed certain characteristics—belief in a higher education for girls (she shared both lessons and drill with her brother), an intense Irish patriotism, which ensured a special welcome, in later days, for all Oxford students hailing from Ireland, and a deep, almost Puritan, sense of religion.

A love of art and music were equally strong. Bertha Todd was one of the early women students at the Slade School, and continued her work as an artist for some

time after her marriage. Several of her pictures were hung at the Royal Academy, including portraits of Mrs Humphrey Ward and of her own eldest son, as a small boy. Portraiture got crowded out in her busy later years; the brush had perforce to give way to the pen. (Can we picture her without a pen in her hand, and a writing case bulging with letters and memoranda?) But the love of music persisted to the very end. She was a good musical critic (student amateur performances were severely, if affectionately, judged), and a faithful attendant at the Oxford Classical Concerts, when pressure of work had caused her to abandon most other forms of entertainment. Her increasing deafness in old age never dimmed her pleasure in playing on her beloved Broadwood piano, touched for the last time when she played the Moonlight Sonata to her husband at the outset of his final illness.

Hers was a very fully developed and rounded personality—with its eager artistic nature, its intensity of feeling, its width of interests, all completed and strengthened in the new life opened to her by her marriage to Arthur Johnson—a friend since her girlish and his Etonian days—now a young History Tutor at Oxford, Fellow and Chaplain of All Souls. Of their mutual devotion, of the sacrifices made by each to the interests, practical and intellectual, of the other, those who knew them best could write most fully.

No account of our Society would be complete which did not emphasize the important part which Mr Johnson played in its history, as counsellor, as critic, as generous benefactor, and as host. Old students of all generations will recognize the lifelike portrait of him drawn by the Public Orator of the University: '*Vir masculi*



MRS B. J. JOHNSON
cir. 1880

et paene dixerim pugnacis ingenii, quem argumentis lacessere temerarii erat, convincere inauditum. Quis tamen amicis jucundior, quis magis generosae indolis?"

Oxford in the 'seventies and 'eighties has been sketched by various pens, so that we can readily picture the ardent circle of young married friends, clustered in the neighbourhood of Norham Gardens, sharing each others' lives and ideals; the wives, so new an element in University society, aspiring to a fuller share of its intellectual life, the husbands generously assisting—and all this intercourse developing spontaneously into the move to give to others a share in this wonderful treasure, newly opened to women. It was a period of vivid personalities, such as beget and are begotten by great movements.

From the outset certain features appear which have certainly characterized the pioneers to the end of their days, and, let us hope, will never wholly be forgotten by their inheritors. Bertha Johnson and her friends were prompted to begin their work by no desire to claim rights, but solely to gain for women the opportunity for education of the highest sort. The task was approached in a spirit of reverence, of realization of the heights to be climbed, of the toil and effort that would be demanded. No easy methods nor slipshod work was to be allowed. Their eyes were set, not on the reward of academic honours and status, but on growth in knowledge and intellectual power. Well and truly were the foundations laid!

Again, one is struck by the absence of all 'feminist spirit', by the warm and friendly co-operation of leading men and women. No clashing of interests was felt, nor anticipated. In Mrs Johnson, perhaps, the sympathetic understanding of the University from the standpoint

of men and women alike, was most apparent and most valuable—'based', as has been well said, 'on the abiding companionship of home'; it was strengthened by constant intercourse with University men, her own and her husband's friends, through hospitality and through community of work and aim.

From the outset, too, we are aware of an interest in working people and in plans for social reform—a consciousness of '*noblesse oblige*', with a belief that the 'new learning' entailed, for those who received it, responsibilities to others less fortunate. 'Service' was one of the calls of the moment, and the 'movement' was fathered by idealists. As one of them wrote in April, 1884, when Oxford was full of country M.A.'s rushing up in alarm at a proposal to open University examinations to women:

'Oxford still is Oxford, as you knew it, as you loved it.
For its great and high ideals, ever earnest, struggling on.
Women check our aim? Nay! rather they will help to push
it farther,
And from Oxford's light illumined light their torch, and hand
it on.

In the quiet peaceful village, where the men are rude with
tillage,
In the factory's din and discord, in the dull and dingy town,
They will spread the light of knowledge they (as you did)
learnt at college,
And with bright refining touches slowly tone the roughness
down.'*

'I am proud' (said Mrs Johnson in her address to the first 'Old Students' Meeting') 'to think that it was

* A. G. Butler: *Harold and other Poems* (Henry Frowde, 1892).

just that they might be "ready both in body and soul", as old Pope Gelasius says, "to accomplish these things" (duties of work and home) that women came and studied here. The larger number of them have to work for their living, but even these find time also to help to grease the wheels of this great machine of complicated, civilised life, and the more complete and thorough their Oxford training and life has been, the more readily can they take up work for their fellow men'.

And with all this high thinking—plain living. Not without sacrifices were the foundations laid; there was no money to spend on administration, or on more than the most meagre postage and printing. Individual effort had to supply every need. A hatred of waste, and a minute attention to detail were the result. These persisted to the end in Mrs Johnson's case, showing themselves, in small things, in the economies of writing paper—the use of half sheets and 'crossed' post cards, which her friends remember with smiles of affection; in larger things, by her devotion to the A.E.W. on the ground of its economy of teachers and administration. The effect of early 'straitness' was seen, too, in the high value she always set on *unpaid* public service, and on the high standard of labour which she exacted from herself and expected of others.

All this work, be it remembered, in her case was supplementary to that of a wife and mother. In her own life, first, she faced and overcame the difficulties that beset the woman who tries to combine home life and public duties, and this helped her to conceive and carry out the idea of our Society. We all know how she valued the title of 'Home-Students,' and 'the quality of retirement and unobtrusiveness which it seems to suggest'.

We must now turn from the biography of the individual to that of the Society.

Our history seems to fall naturally into six periods.

(1) The first, from 1878-1894, covers the pioneer period proper; it ends, from our special point of view, with Mrs Johnson's appointment as Principal in 1893, and her resignation of the secretaryship of the Association for the Education of Women in 1894.

(2) The second, from 1894-1909, is a period of steady internal growth—interrupted but not seriously affected by the storm over the 'Degree Question', 1895-1896.

(3) The third, 1909-1914, is of deep constitutional importance. It includes the establishment of the Delegacy for Women Students, and thereby the bringing of all the Halls, and of our own Society especially, into much closer relation to the University.

(4) The War, 1914-1918.

(5) The fifth, 1918-1921, covers the post-war rush of students, the admission of women to full membership in the University, and finally the resignation by Mrs Johnson of her position as Principal.

(6) The sixth can only be treated as an epilogue. The period of Miss Burrows' Principalship deserves its own historian; here we can only attempt to show how the Society grew by a natural process of evolution, and retained the full approval and blessing of its foundress.

I. 1878—1894.

FROM memory and from records Mrs Johnson and Miss Rogers have sketched for us the gradual dawning of our Society. The fact that to do this it was necessary to describe the birth of the 'women's

movement' in Oxford as a whole, emphasizes the early interdependence of the first three bodies of women students, as well as the importance of the part played by the Association for the Education of Women. The existence of Home-Students from the beginning of the movement is clearly proved, and Mrs Johnson was fond of insisting on this fact. They seem to have had no positive title till 1891—up to which date they were classified as 'students not residing in a Hall', 'Town Students' or 'Associated Town Students'. But they were for some time the largest body of students, and were deliberately fostered by the Association. Eight 'members of resident families' are mentioned in the Report of 1880, with the comment: 'the Committee would gladly welcome an increase of this latter class'. And again in 1887 'the Committee are glad to notice a considerable increase (thirty-one, as opposed to fifty-six in the two Halls) of those students resident in Oxford but not in any of the Halls, who have attended the regular classes'. From the outset their work attained a high standard, Miss Julia Arnold and Miss Sheldon, an American, both winning First Classes in 1882. One of them, Mrs Percy Matheson, has drawn us a picture of those early days, when 'the pioneers' shyly crept into lectures hiding their note-books under their jackets on the way thither.

Having no Principal or tutors of their own, they were placed under the special charge of the Lady Secretary of the Association. For the first three years this was Mrs T. H. Green, wife of the first acting secretary to the A.E.W., the Professor of Moral Philosophy. Though her husband's death caused her to resign the Secretaryship, she remained on the A.E.W. Council, became a

member of the first Committee for Home-Students in 1893, and continued to serve upon the Governing body till 1921. This fact, and her intimate friendship with Mrs Johnson, who succeeded her as Hon. Secretary to the A.E.W. in 1883, gave her a close knowledge of and interest in our Society, which owes much to her wisdom, ability and gracious character.

It was not long before Mrs Johnson's own strong personality and her immense interest in the individual students began to invest this scattered body with certain positive characteristics of its own. In her letters and writings, and in the annual reports of the Association, one sees the gradual emergence of the conception that afterwards became so dear to her—that of the corporate society. That the students themselves were quick to respond to such ideas is shown by a petition presented by Miss Rogers in the name of thirteen past and present students in November, 1887, begging the Association to 'consider the desirability of combining in a body *with a recognized name* . . . all such students as do not reside in any Hall. This we ask believing that by reason of belonging to no corporate body we are in danger of failing to obtain recognition as University students'. The result of this petition was the drawing up of further regulations for all regular students, the inauguration of a Home-Student Register (1888) and the adoption of the title 'Home-Students', at the suggestion, as Mrs Johnson has explained, of Dr Jackson, Rector of Exeter. To Mrs Johnson herself the need for special organization, other than for social purposes, was perhaps hardly apparent at first, so strong was her conviction of the benefits which they enjoyed as members of the larger Association. 'In our democratic

scheme', she writes, in a very interesting sketch of the Association contributed in 1892 to the Journal of the 'University Association of Women Teachers', 'the educational advantages which Home-Students enjoy are in every respect as great as those enjoyed by the Hall students. All students stand on exactly the same footing; all have equal advantages as to tutors and teachers and guidance. Another advantage of the system is the variety it allows. Halls and smaller hostels there are, where students may benefit by the hundred educating influences which college life gives; or, where preferred, the student may come under another kind of influence, educating in a different way, and perhaps especially beneficial to a girl who has spent most of her youth in a boarding school, that which is gained by learning to work seriously in her own home, amidst home ties and duties, or while fitting herself into the life of another family, not her own'. The emphasis on the Home-Students (whom she mentions as forming more than a quarter of the total number) is already apparent, though this paper was drawn up primarily as a defence of the Association. 'Is this "Association" experiment of ours', she concludes. 'to continue and develop, or will the narrower college system end by absorbing it? This is the question now at Oxford'.

That question was answered in fact by Mrs Johnson's resignation in 1894 of the Secretaryship of the A.E.W. after a period of stress and anxiety of which it is difficult now to grasp the full significance.

The truth was that the Association bore in many ways the impress of the early ideals and of the special circumstances of a pioneer movement. In the first place, only *one* College or Hall had been planned. When, within

the first few months of the movement, this was found to be impossible, an effort was made to preserve unity of aim by entrusting the control of the actual education to one body. This undoubtedly simplified relations with teachers, and enabled those in charge of the movement to utilize to the best purpose the help so generously offered by many University tutors and lecturers, as well as to meet the objections raised by others. Thus, under a cumbrous name, it gathered to itself the romance and the freshness of first enthusiasm—an enthusiasm which sometimes puts to shame the modern inheritor of the blessings so hardly won. It also centralized the knowledge and experience, gradually gained, of University ways, and was of great value to the Principals of the new Halls, as each in turn bore testimony. But by the early nineties, the position was changing; the two Halls had proved more successful than even their founders could have hoped, and were developing a collegiate feeling of their own. By the 'A.E.W.' system, as originally worked, they really occupied the position of hostels, the whole educational organization being controlled by the Association. The Halls were officially described as 'approved by the Association', tutors were 'Association tutors', and a student enjoyed almost complete freedom to choose under which of these tutors she worked. All tutorial arrangements were made through the Secretary to the Association, to whom the reports on students were sent. So much centralization could hardly continue as the numbers dealt with increased. Not only did it lead to the overburdening of the Secretary and her assistant, but not unnaturally each Hall began to appoint also tutors of its own, while the Principals, with ripened experience, became desirous to exercise more

direct control over their own students' education. The time for a measure of self-government had, in fact, come. But for those at the centre, immersed in the daily labour of a constantly growing organization, and giving to the A.E.W. the loyalty that in Oxford generally would be given to a College, the change was at first hard to realize. Hence a controversy between Halls and A.E.W. which to modern readers seems dead and outworn, and yet is of real interest to one who reads it in the letters of the time, for the vivid light which it throws on the characters who played their part in it.*

Certain points emerge clearly. First, there is Mrs Johnson's passionate devotion to the A.E.W. as representing principles and ideas which all her life remained especially dear to her—co-operation, combined with freedom, economy, variety (the best choice of teachers being available by this communal system) and also a choice as to the residential system. One perceives too, her insistence on the personal touch—not self-consciously, but from the conviction that in the closeness of personal relations with the students was to be found the interest and attraction of all this voluntary work. The characters in the drama stand out clearly; Mrs Johnson herself, ardent ('you always care so much more than anyone else about doing well', wrote a friend) very conservative, opposed instinctively to anything that she felt to be a breach with the past, or to involve a disregard of honourable understandings of the past, yet always placing the cause of true education first, and, when she had faced the inevitable, adapting herself to the change with unexpected rapidity.

The men concerned in the affair as members of the

* See College Archives.

Association, or of the Councils of the Halls, see the whole more clearly, from the point of view of their college experience, yet never fail in patient consideration for both sides, nor in warm personal friendship for Mrs Johnson and strong admiration for her abilities. Mr Sidgwick, after seven pages (in his beautiful small handwriting) of criticism of a paper in which Mrs Johnson stated in great detail her objections to the proposed reforms, concludes:

‘I say no word here—but not because I have ever failed to feel it—of the infinite gratitude our cause owes for so many years of such service as few people have had the mind, the heart, the will and the power to give to any cause’.

And when her resignation was actually announced, these expressions are even warmer.

‘Selfishly for you’, writes the President of Magdalen (Mr Warren), ‘I think it is a good thing. Selfishly for us, I think it’s a loss we can ill afford. The A.E.W. should be and will be eternally grateful for the time it has had you’.

Her women colleagues left her in no doubt of their gratitude and generous appreciation.

‘What you have done for the cause’, writes Miss Wordsworth, ‘few people know as well as myself, and no one would miss you more if you had to leave us altogether’.

Miss Rogers characteristically sees the main point; is sympathetic over the troubles that have led to the resignation, but ‘glad that you have seen your way to dividing the work, and keeping the more congenial part’.

Letters from old students anticipate, on a small scale, those that flowed in in 1921. ‘It seems strange to think of

you no longer in the position of the supreme guardian angel of the students', writes one. 'I shall always work in quite a different spirit from having begun with you, and seen how completely you have put *yourself* instead of only your powers into the work,' wrote her assistant, Miss E. Venables (Mrs J. A. Simon).

When once the decision was made, Mrs Johnson threw herself almost at once into the task of helping her successor, Miss Rogers, to 'grasp the ropes', and with characteristic generosity envisaged the changes that must follow the new decisions of the Association—decisions profoundly modifying its relations to the Halls, and entailing the abandonment of much that she had deemed essential.

Looking back, one sees that the 'crisis' was important in ways not fully realized by all the actors in it at the time. One stage in the history of women's education in Oxford had been reached, and the decisions made in 1893-1894 were momentous both for the Halls and for our Society. The Halls won for themselves the power to develop on their own lines, though still with the help and guidance of the A.E.W. in matters purely educational, a guidance gradually and wisely diminishing till its final supersession in 1920. The Home-Students, just because of this partial separation of the Halls from their parent stem, were driven to organize themselves more fully, a movement, as we have shown, deliberately encouraged by many of their friends on the Association.

There had really been some danger to their continued existence, by affiliation or absorption by the Halls. 'As to affiliation to the Halls', Arthur Sidgwick had written in 1893, 'I see no use in that. The other system, to organize and encourage them, is far better; it is one

of our advantages over Cambridge, where there are no Home-Students, except a few "out-patients" of Newnham'. Mrs Poole, Hon. Treasurer to the A.E.W., and Miss Rogers wrote in a similar strain. 'I feel sure', wrote Mr Grose early in May of the same year, 'that whatever the Halls do, there will be Home-Students not in any way connected with them; and if so they will gain in every way, if they have some organisation which can stand side by side with the Halls. And it is also clear that it would be disastrous if their association with you were in any way weakened. Hence my desire to see you recognised as their Lady Principal'.

This desire had been gratified in October, 1893, and though Mrs Johnson's new title of Principal seems to have attracted little notice, being regarded at the time merely as the recognition of one of the many branches of her activities, it did enable her, after her resignation of the Secretaryship of the Association, to concentrate upon the development of the Home-Students. Posterity will endorse Mr Armstrong's words (at the General Meeting of the A.E.W. in November, 1894) congratulating the Home-Students on their continued possession of Mrs Johnson as their Principal, while other students and tutors were to lose her kind services. Their loss was our gain. The Home-Students succeeded to Mrs Johnson's devotion to the A.E.W. (so that in a sense we are really her 'first love'), and in fostering their growth she worked out many of her favourite ideas—giving to them, perhaps rather wider connections and outlook than mere 'home' students might naturally have enjoyed.

In handing over its more purely administrative side to Miss Rogers, may we not also say that she inaugurated an important era for the Association?

II. 1894—1909.

THE next fifteen years in our history constitute a period of steady development. Thanks, in part, to a stricter organization, but even more to the inspiration of their Principal, the Home-Students come to assume more and more the character of a corporate society, rivalling, though not slavishly imitating, the Halls. This peaceful period is broken, but for our purposes not seriously affected, by the storm over 'Degrees for Women' which beat upon Oxford from the spring of 1895 to that of 1896.

The immense amount of correspondence, both public and private, which has been preserved for us, testifies to contemporary feeling on the subject. For our purpose the interest of the whole agitation consists first in the strong light which it throws upon the mind and character of Mrs Johnson, and upon the influence which her opinions exercised upon Oxford as a whole, and secondly in its indirect results in tightening the organization and discipline of the Home-Students. A brief summary of the events can hardly be avoided.

The early attitude to the position of women in Oxford is well revealed by a 'Leaflet on Women Students in Oxford', drawn up in 1893. 'Oxford,' it explains, 'offers to women many advantages for special study and some advantages which are not granted to men. It does not confer degrees upon women, but at the same time it does not impose on them certain regulations enforced in the case of men'. As Oxford women, however, went forth into the labour market they became increasingly desirous of some formal certificate to prove to the world

their Oxford education, and early in 1894 the Association, on the motion of its Chairman (Mr T. H. Grose) appointed a Committee to consider a scheme for either a Diploma or a Degree for women. On June 6th, 1894, this Committee reported in favour of asking the University for a Diploma for women who had fulfilled all the conditions as to residence and examinations necessary for the B.A. degree, and for a certificate for those who had taken an alternative course. The scheme was laid before the Delegates of Local Examinations, who had hitherto acted as the official medium of the University in all arrangements for the examination of women students. By them the proposal was so altered as to exclude the important factor of residence, with the result that the Council of the A.E.W. withdrew its petition, and decided to move directly for the Degree itself. It was at a special meeting held for this purpose, on December 15th, 1894, that Mrs Johnson's dissent from the opinions of the majority of her friends first showed itself. Opposing the proposal on the grounds of the narrow curriculum required for the B.A. degree, which she described as 'a boot made to suit men rather than women', she boldly suggested a different form of recognition', namely, that the University should convert the 'Association' into a Delegacy for Women Students, and that all registered students should be matriculated, though not admitted to degrees. Her proposals were defeated, and a Committee of nine was appointed to consider the best method of approaching the University on the subject. On March 6th the Committee presented a very careful report, frankly admitting that some educational loss would result from the bias towards classics and away from modern languages that would

follow the opening of the B.A., but in spite of this, recommending 'that the University be petitioned to recognize qualified students, if possible by the B.A., or at any rate by a University Certificate, stating their residence and qualifications'. They also recommended that the Councils of the Halls should be consulted, with the sequel that Somerville and St. Hugh's passed resolutions in favour of the proposal, while at Lady Margaret Hall it was negatived by a small majority.

Mrs Johnson, encouraged by the Rector of Exeter and the President of Magdalen, moved that the matter should be referred to a General Meeting of the Association. The meeting, which took place on May 4th, in the Schools, was one characterized by some tension and strong feeling. Much correspondence had preceded it, and many old students came up to vote. The Association Council and Staff turned up in force, with a good sprinkling of such University and College lecturers as were honorary members. Two motions were passed by large majorities, the first being in favour of granting the B.A. to all women who had fulfilled the statutory conditions, with the alternative of a Diploma for students who had resided three years and passed a preliminary, an intermediate, and any Honour Examination recognized by the University. (This latter proposal, due to an amendment by Professor Lodge, secured recognition for those who had taken the special women's Modern Language Examination—not yet ranking as an Honour School of the University). The second motion, for immediate application to the University, was countered by an amendment from Mr A. L. Smith and Mrs Johnson, 'that while recording their desire for full recognition of women students by the

University at a future date, the members of the A.E.W. are opposed to any action at present, unsupported by any similar movement on the part of the University of Cambridge'. The meeting was too crowded, and the majority on one side too overwhelming, for much discussion. Mrs Johnson was unable to deliver the full speech which she had prepared, and the amendment was immediately defeated. She yet had much support from men History Tutors, including Mr Johnson, Mr A. L. Smith, and Mr Armstrong, and from many of the more conservative members of the University. With their assistance she organized a counter-petition to that of the A.E.W., asking the University to grant a Diploma without insisting on residence. University politics were thus divided during the summer of 1895 by three lines of opinion, in favour respectively of granting to women (a) the B.A. on the same conditions as men; (b) a Diploma on the same conditions as those prescribed for the B.A., and (c) a Diploma on *less* strict conditions, as to residence and examination, than those prescribed for the B.A. Much was the correspondence and the canvassing, and many were the letters in the *Times* and in the *Oxford Magazine*, and in the educational journals of the day.

The main argument in favour of the degree was that of the removal of hardship. 'Through the favour of Colleges and individual teachers, women are educated in Oxford, but they go out into professions at a considerable disadvantage. They can with truth say for themselves that they have studied in Oxford, have attended lectures, have been members of a Hall or other body, but Oxford, though it has educated them, is silent on this point'.* Full membership of the University

* A.M.A.H.R., in *Oxford University Extension Gazette*.

was thus not even suggested at this juncture, but merely the bestowal of a title in recognition of work done.

On the other hand it was argued that the professional disadvantages of the lack of a degree were much exaggerated, and that they were fully compensated for by the special educational advantages accorded to women. They were allowed to take a special preliminary with two modern languages instead of Responsions (which until 1921 involved both Latin and Greek); they could take a special intermediate examination of their own (with modern languages), or could proceed, if they wished, without any intermediate direct to their Final School. The value set on the latter privilege was shown, as Mrs Johnson pointed out, by the fact that out of sixty-two students who in fifteen years had taken the Modern History School, fifty-two had taken no intermediate examination. Besides these advantages, women were allowed to take a Final Honour Examination in Modern Languages, which, though not recognized as an Honour School for a Degree, was of great value in training teachers in Modern Languages for girls' schools. 'This has been our liberty and we have prized it', wrote Mrs Johnson, 'but for the glamour of the B.A. and of what is falsely called "equal rights", *nous allons changer tout cela*'. The gain would bring with it, she argued, a direct educational loss to Oxford women, and would thus react on the country at large, which was clamouring for highly trained teachers in girls' schools. If students at Oxford had to waste time in 'cramming' Greek and Latin, they would no longer reach the high standard of specialized work to which their forty-one Firsts (out of a hundred and ninety-one who had taken Honours) already bore witness. 'It seems unreasonable

to train girls in modern subjects at school or at home, and then, when they come to a University, presumably to carry on their work in a really complete manner, and to specialize in those subjects in which they have already shown aptitude or interest, to turn them suddenly into the classical road, and to compel them to compete with boys who for years have been imbibing Latin and Greek. There is a great deal to be said for the received method of making a path across a field, namely, waiting to see where the grass is most worn by footsteps. And in our experiment of University education for women, where we are dealing with persons who do not need driving but earnestly desire to do thorough work, it might be wisest, before we take the new and attractive way offered by University recognition and the B.A., to wait for a longer experience of the needs of our women students'.

We have quoted thus at length from Mrs Johnson because both the thoughts and the final metaphor which clothed them are characteristic of her, and because the other side requires little defence to us at the present day. The reply of the Degree party to the 'narrower curriculum' argument was that women were in many ways suffering from the over-elasticity allowed them, and would profit, both in work and character, by the discipline of a severer course. The 'largest consideration' to Mr Sidgwick and his allies, was 'the immense lift which University recognition of the women students would give to girls' education all over the country. Mr Gardner talks of the women students as "honoured guests" at Oxford. It is not my idea of honouring a guest to make her do all the work and refuse her recognition and reward'.*

* *The Times*, February 6th, 1896.

The two petitions were sent to the Hebdomadal Council, the first, based on the resolution of May 4th with a hundred and twenty-four signatures of members of Congregation in favour of either Degree or Diploma; the second, for a Diploma without insistence on residence or a 'degree course', with a hundred and twenty-eight signatures.

General masculine opinion was probably summed up by A.G.:

'Doomed to a course that's narrow, your recklessness you'll rue,
The toad beneath a harrow will happier be than you.'*

Or, as Sir F. Pollock put it, 'The women who want degrees seem to me to be running their heads into a house of bondage' (May, 1895).

In response to the two memorials, Council appointed a Committee to consider the question and to receive evidence on the following points: (a) 'Whether the exclusion of women from the B.A. degree has been found to injure the professional prospects of women engaged in tuition; (b) whether the admission of women to the B.A. degree would be likely, and if so in what way, injuriously to affect the education of women?'

This was the first time that women had been invited to give evidence before representatives of the University. The invitation was felt to be an anxious honour, and both sides marshalled their evidence with great care. The 'degree party' printed a pamphlet, containing an impressive mass of evidence, collected from letters of teachers, as to the professional disadvantages to women

* A. D. Godley: *More Echoes from 'The Oxford Magazine.'*

of the lack of a degree. Mrs Johnson admitted with some surprise the 'formidable character' of this evidence, but she had herself received a great many letters of a contrary character from teachers of all ranks who were opposed to the granting of the degree for the same reasons as herself. A selection from these, carefully marked and annotated 'for evidence before the Hebdomadal Council', is preserved to us. Evidence was given by Miss Wordsworth and Miss Maitland, as well as by Mrs Johnson and Miss Rogers, and also by the Principals of Holloway and Bedford Colleges, and by several Headmistresses. An impartial summary was published in the *University Gazette* of February 11th, 1896, accompanied by two resolutions of the Committee: (i) 'We think it possible that the want of a degree may occasionally have proved a disadvantage to Oxford candidates; but the evidence given does not satisfy us that cases of hardship have been of frequent occurrence. (ii) We believe that a stricter course of study would in almost all cases be preferable to the indefiniteness of the existing arrangements for women students, and we think this advantage may be secured by granting the degree, without abolishing the freedom of choice now allowed'.

In spite of the generous suggestion contained in the second resolution, members of Congregation seized eagerly upon the first. 'This verdict', writes Professor Percy Gardner, 'removes the only great fear of many of those who oppose the degree, the fear of inflicting hardship on those women who study among us. We can now go forward with a light heart'.* With a light heart, therefore, Congregation met upon March 3rd,

* *The Times*, February 11th, 1896.

and rejected a resolution to grant the B.A. to women, and the following week it assembled with renewed strength to reject all alternative proposals for Diploma or Certificate.

Conservative Oxford thus asserted itself, determined that women should still remain merely on the 'guest footing' within its walls, though anxious that the guest should be treated with justice and courtesy. Probably this Conservatism, the recurrent dread of an 'inrush of women' (who might, it is always hinted, be largely Pass-women), was the main cause of the defeat of the movement, but other contributory causes were the uncertainty as to Cambridge, and the division of opinions among educated women themselves. And among the leaders of the women who opposed the degree Mrs Johnson was undoubtedly of the highest importance. Her husband's position as well as her own, their many joint friends, the immense respect felt for her personally, as well as for her work, all added to the weight of her opposition. This had been foreseen as early as February, 1895, by Mr A. Sidgwick, who wrote to her: 'I think your opposition is formidable, and justly formidable. People will naturally feel afraid to launch out on anything which is described as dangerous by one who has done so much and so wisely for education'. 'We may lose this time', he had written again in November, 1895; 'if we do, it will be due mainly to your action; I should be most sorry on that account, and even to yourself, I imagine, it will be a "melancholy satisfaction" (as they say in the mourning shops). But Oxford and Cambridge cannot long refuse what nine other British Universities give'.

'Melancholy' Mrs Johnson did feel, it is true, for

the division of opinion among friends, but she never repented of the line which she had taken at this juncture, nor altered her view that the degree would have been premature in 1896, causing too early a stereotyping of women's University education. '*Chi va piano va sano*' was always her comment on the matter.

Those who have lived to see the final stages of the degree movement in Oxford, and to compare it with the position in Cambridge, where the first move had been made in the 'eighties', must doubt whether women's recognition would have been so final and complete in 1920, had a halfway measure of privileges been granted them in 1896.

The defeated party very wisely set themselves to produce a working scheme which would save Oxford women from the professional disadvantages of which they had complained. By the summer of 1896 the A.E.W. Council had drawn up regulations for two Diplomas and one Certificate: the first, which came to be known as the 'B.A. Diploma', granted to students who exactly fulfilled the requirements for the B.A. degree, as prescribed for members of the University: the other two for less rigid alternative courses. These were regularly issued until 1913.

Meanwhile the ordinary life of the Home-Students had proceeded quietly, and the Committee could point to a slow but steady improvement in education and in organization. The general discussion of the position of women in Oxford had revealed a latent anxiety as to the development of the Home-Students, among members of the Association as well as in the University at large. Mrs Johnson had been warned by a friend, in November 1895, before she gave evidence to Council, that she

might be 'asked questions about the discipline of Home-Students, and the desirability of putting them under University control'. It does not appear whether this actually occurred, but that the difficulties were felt to be real is shown by a letter of the same date from Mr Gerrans, who, as Secretary to the Local Examinations Delegacy and member of the A.E.W. Council since 1887 and of the Home-Students Committee since 1893, had full knowledge of and interest in the facts as to Home-Students. 'I have', he wrote to Mrs Johnson, 'invariably defended the system with considerable warmth. But I have never thought it desirable to conceal my view that the Principal of the Home-Students and the Home-Student Committee have an onerous task to perform, and that there are details which may need amendment.' The degree, if granted, he pointed out, should be open to all students alike. 'The privileges of the Home-Students ought to be equal to those of Hall students, and anything which could be construed to the disadvantage of the Home-Student system should be amended'. Among the points to which he thought special attention should be paid, were the position of the one hostel (St. Kentigern's) which then existed for Home-Students, the need that the Home-Student Committee should contain men with experience of the lodging-house system, and the position of the 'unregistered students'. The latter class, who were a subject of discussion for some years, were students whose lectures were arranged for by the Secretary of the A.E.W., though they were not classified as Home-Students.

Mr Gerrans' letter reveals pretty clearly the weak points in the Home-Student system at that date,

weaknesses which were faced in the ensuing period by the Committee and Principal, who could now devote her whole energies to the work. St. Kentigern's was removed by its Head to St. Andrew's, where the hostel system was more natural than at Oxford. General rules as to residence and conduct—drawn up early in 1895—were steadily enforced, and, as they became realized in Oxford as a whole, seem to have dissipated the fears (always unfounded) that an indefinite number of young women might crowd to Oxford to live in lodgings, free from collegiate discipline or regulation. The minute care which Mrs Johnson gave to the question of residence, and her intimate knowledge of the families who were willing to receive such students, as well as the good conduct of the students themselves, gradually and successfully built up a system which will always appeal to certain girls more than that of a College.

Registration was made obligatory for all Home-Students; the careful record of their work and residence by which our old students were able to prove their claim for degrees, when these were at last opened in 1920, dates back to 1895, and in some cases as far back as 1888. The unregistered students were gradually separated from the regular students, though under the colloquial title of 'miscellaneous ladies' they continued to attend lectures, and to be reported on to the A.E.W. by the Principal and Committee of the Home-Students as late as 1910. Neither the Association nor the Principal of the Home-Students undertook any responsibility for their residence; they were mostly visitors for a short time to Oxford, who were glad to receive advice as to possible lectures and tuition in return for a registration fee of two shillings and sixpence.

The next problem of our Society was one of finance. The development of a closer collegiate system, which followed the events of 1894, was followed, as Mrs Johnson had foreseen, by a lessening of economy. The Halls were beginning to have tutors and lecturers of their own, with the result that classes were smaller, and the advantages of 'large-scale production' were lost. To avoid a deficiency, an annual registration fee of five shillings per student was agreed to by the Halls, and of ten shillings per student for Home-Students (1895). This differentiation of fees was a recognition of the fact that Home-Students were more directly controlled by the Association and cost more than did the Hall students.

Another development, which now seems unimportant, threatened to hit the Home-Students rather badly. Some members of the University were admittedly reaping a considerable harvest from the fees paid by women who attended their lectures; they had also, admittedly, been generous in their donations to the funds of the Association, which had profited considerably thereby. A proposal made by one of the Halls, that College lecturers should be asked to reduce their fees when more than a certain number of students attended, was opposed by Mrs Johnson on the ground that it would hamper the A.E.W. finances, through doing away with the donations of lecturers, and lessening the total profit (obtained chiefly by fees of the unregistered students). It was suggested that the Home-Students, who were wholly dependent on A.E.W. finance, ought either to be willing to pay more than the Hall students, or should have funds specially raised for their benefit. This was the opinion of two of her most helpful friends,

Mr Grose and Professor Pelham, some of whose letters on the subject are extant.

Professor Pelham writes in 1897: 'As the organization of the Home-Students develops, more money will be needed, and must be supplied elsewhere than from the fees paid by students at Halls.'

Mr Grose: 'I think that, from a legal point of view, the duty of providing the money falls on the Council of the A.E.W., but to press them for even a modest subscription would create a disturbance'.

(Both gentlemen conclude their letters by offers of an annual subscription to a Home-Students Fund.)

Mr Pelham's view was firmly countered by Mrs Johnson, who maintained it to be 'in no way the duty of the Home-Student Committee to ask for money. The Association generally undertook to provide for the Home-Students as much as it undertook to carry on lectures. It is as much pledged to keep up the Home-Student work out of its general funds, as the University is to keep up the "unattached"'. She pointed out the dependence of the Home-Students on the Association; 'their governing body is merely a sub-committee of the Council, and could be dissolved by the Council to-morrow. So could the Principal be dismissed. I can quite understand Hall or College folk disliking *any* Home-Student system at all, but I can't understand believing in it and starving it' (May, 1897).

The principle for which Mrs Johnson contended (that constitutional control should be accompanied by financial assistance of the Home-Students) was never acceptable to the Women's Colleges and Halls, who not unnaturally felt it hard to press an analogy between the University and an Association with no independent

sources of income beyond subscriptions, but it was ultimately accepted by the University, when it admitted women to membership in 1920 and took over the control of our Society.

The decision of 1897 seems to have turned more on detail than on principle. The general reduction of fees to lectures was not pressed, but some of the lecturers generously bound themselves to return a regular proportion of the income which they received from the fees of women students. This was paid over in part to the Nettleship Library, in part to the A.E.W. Fund for Poor Students. To a certain extent, the Home-Students benefited thereby, but no big effort to raise funds was made, nor was Mrs Johnson allowed what she desired (and Mr Grose supported), a Vice-Principal, to assist her in the already heavy work of getting to know the hostesses of Home-Students. A salary of £2 a term was voted for a secretary to the Principal (who herself received no salary), and the Society, as it began to be called in 1898, continued to be managed with extreme economy.

What was the general character and life of the ordinary Home-Student of this late Victorian period? Compared to that of the woman undergraduate of the present day with her multifarious clubs and activities, her busy sense of membership of the University, her easy intercourse with the man undergraduate, it may appear 'solitary and poor'. The numbers in themselves were small, dropping from forty-six in 1896 to thirty-four in 1898, as a result of stricter rules of registration, of the granting of autonomy to St. Hilda's in 1896, and of the migration of St. Kentigern's in the following year. It must be remembered, however, that at this

date Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville only numbered fifty and seventy respectively. By 1901 we had risen to fifty, and by 1908 to sixty-eight, including ten Americans and eight foreigners. The Society seems always to have accorded a special welcome to students from abroad, and especially to American students, one of whom entered in 1879. The first Annual Report (1896) notes the latter class as one of the most important in the Society 'Most of them are women who, having had several years of collegiate life, and having already taken their degree in America, come to Oxford for one or two years to prepare for some higher degree, or to study some special subject for teaching purposes'. 'There have also', continues the same report, 'been French, German, Russian, Roumanian, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian students, most of them residing for one year in Oxford, and working for the teaching diplomas of their own country in English language or literature'. It was, however, not till 1910, when the Committee definitely decided, in the general interests of women's education and discipline in Oxford, to accept foreign students for short periods of study, that this cosmopolitan character became most marked. (Our total numbers then rose to nearly a hundred, and remained at about that level till the Great War.) Registration in a definite body of students gave the foreigner a sense of obligation, and a motive for submission to our social rules, many of which seemed irksome to her at first, and also ensured her a definite course of study under the direction of a tutor. How thoroughly some of them came to appreciate membership of the Society is shown by a charming letter of thanks received by Mrs Johnson: 'I don't know of any other place',

wrote a Dutch student, 'where women students are so nicely chaperoned and motherly taken interest in, as our association of home-students by you; it struck me as giving a kind of ladylike aspect to the whole organization, besides its giving a very safe feeling for the foreigner, who would feel rather lost in the new study-world'. Their presence in many ways increased the difficulty, but added to the interest, of attempts to foster clubs and social activities among the students.

The chief social bond at first consisted in the terminal meetings held in the lecture rooms of the Association, and in the private entertaining of small parties of students by the Principal in her own house. Organised athletics were a somewhat slow development, owing to the small numbers and the great variety in age and nationality of the students. But boating and lawn-tennis clubs existed by 1896, and some students joined the Etceteras Hockey Club, with the result that both in 1897 and 1900 a Home-Student played in a 'United Hockey Team' against Cambridge. In 1903 a hockey club was formed boasting just eleven members. The captain can still remember her peregrinations on a bicycle to obtain personal promises from every member before she accepted a challenge to a match! Matches were played against 'Second Elevens' of the Halls, and against a redoubtable team known as 'Dons and Graduates', and matches began to be won, thanks to the intense energy of the team, and to the play of H. Poulton and I. Plunket (Hockey 'Blues' 1904 and 1905). Home-Students were thus beginning to play their part among Hall students, and one hears of them sharing in Inter-collegiate debates, held in the High School, and in the publication of the 'Fritillary.'

Most important in social life was the foundation (1898) of a Common Room at 131 High Street, in a room belonging to some ladies who had started one of the earliest of Oxford tea shops. A meeting place for tea (and even morning coffee) and a resting place between lectures was the chief aim of the founders. 'It seems to me', writes one of them,* 'that the coming of the bicycle had a little to do with our desire for a Common Room, for there was no place in which these beloved objects could be put while their owners were at lectures. The ladies who let us their room had a backyard, where we were allowed to store our bicycles. We were warned by high authorities that it would be well to go and come without attracting attention to the fact that we had this place of meeting, and, to that end, no bicycle should be left outside the yard door, in case it should be noticed'. By 1901, however, when the present writer became acquainted with the Common Room, it was a fully recognized institution, managed by the Principal and a representative Committee of students—the foundation of the impressive J.C.R. organization of the present day. It played a useful part in drawing students together, and its various habitats, with their respective guardians, will be affectionately remembered by successive generations. That above the old curiosity shop at 41 High Street was the most exciting; one never knew what 'antique' one might fall over on the narrow stair, or what tale one might be called on to listen to in the unforgettable brogue of its owner. The large room above Cambray's, at 44 Broad Street, was loved for the beautiful views from its windows; but the most beloved, and in some ways most typical of our Society, was the

* K. A. Hindley (Mrs Evans).

little house at 16 Ship Street, to which we migrated in 1910, and which we owe to the architectural vision and generosity of Mr Arthur Johnson, who purchased it for us in our direst need. It was a bare little house, of lath and plaster, one of the oldest in Oxford, with three tiny rooms on first and second floor. The pulling down of partitions on the first floor produced a Common Room of peculiar charm and originality. Here was a 'home' of our own, which aroused real enthusiasm. Mrs Johnson's friends and old students vied with each other in contributions of money and furniture, and Mrs Johnson herself, with a characteristic combination of good taste and economy, superintended the furnishing, down to the last cup and saucer and to the 'gothic' umbrella stand, over which she chuckled. Successive zealous caretakers ruled in the little kitchen on the ground floor, where a little entrance hall provided Home-Students with their first opportunity to satisfy their craving for notice boards and notices. The craving has, perhaps, by now become a disease, but even in its early stages it is remembered that one of its strongest symptoms was a love of 'posting', and a reluctance to read what was posted!

Thus a common life continued to grow. 'Terminal afternoon 'socials' were held from very early days in the Common Room, and occasional evening entertainments, where people showed forth their musical and dramatic talents. In January, 1901, the Society had celebrated its twenty-first anniversary (postponed from the previous October) by a gathering in the Hall of All Souls College, where Mrs Humphrey Ward gave an address on 'Peasant Life in the Novel'. Two years later the Common Room was enriched by a gift

of the works of R. L. Stevenson, presented in memory of Mrs Simon (Ethel Venables) by her friends. Sir John Simon later presented a bookcase to contain these.

About 1908 a Boat Club, with rigorous rules, was organized, and in 1909, thanks to contributions from past and present students, the club acquired its first punt, 'Swallow', to be followed a good deal later by a canoe, 'Swift', the gift of an old student whose coaching in the gentle art of canoeing will be a happy memory to many.

In education, Home-Students maintained a high level. The number of Final Schools taken in relation to the total number of students was low, because of the variety of course and of nationality, but the actual classes gained by Home-Students—and by the general body of women in Oxford—compares very favourably with those of the present day.

If we are not allowed to count among Home-Student Honours Miss Rogers' Firsts in Classics (1877) and in Philosophy and Ancient History (1879), (for Miss Rogers, if pre-eminently a 'home' student, was never registered as such*), our list of First Classes begins, as already mentioned, with Miss Julia Arnold and Miss Sheldon in 1882. It is taken up again by Miss E. R. Price, who obtained a First in Honour Moderations in 1894, and from that date to 1911 there is hardly a year without one or two Firsts. In 1898 there were three (among them our present Hon. Treasurer), and

* Miss Rogers took these two examinations just after they were opened to women by the Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations, but before the institution of the A.E.W. She was thus never a Student under the Association, though she became a member of its Council in November, 1879, and was formally made a member of the Home-Students in 1895. She has been on our Governing Body for fifty years.



MISS A. M. A. H. ROGERS
1921

the same number in 1899, including Rose Sidgwick, who was soon to take up an important history post at Birmingham University, and Hilda Murray, the present Vice-Mistress of Girton. In these years our total numbers were at their lowest—thirty-four to thirty-two.

In 1899, it may be noted, there were two hundred and two women students on the books of the five societies; nine were placed in the First Class of various Honour Schools, and seventeen in the Second, not to mention one First and five Seconds in Honour Moderations. Perhaps the most striking year was 1894, when a total of one hundred and sixty-eight students yielded nine Firsts. (Women students in 1929 number about seven hundred and fifty.) Were the students of earlier days a more picked body, or were the distractions fewer? Or (heretical suggestion) was the 'non-degree' course, with the possibility of a full three years' preparation for Final Schools, better suited to women? That it best coincided at that date with their pre-University education, Mrs Johnson remained unrepentantly convinced, and the greater number of Home-Students followed her advice on this point. Of general distinctions, Home-Students won a fair share. An 'Association Scholarship', open to all students alike, was won by a Home-Student in 1885 and again in 1889. The 'Margaret Evans' History Prize, open to all women students, was won in 1898 by Miss Rose Sidgwick, and the Modern Language Prize in 1904 by Miss Beatrice Knott.

In 1902 Miss Ivy Williams obtained a Second Class in the B.C.L. Examination, and two years later the degree of Doctor of Laws at London University. In 1906 the new Research Fellowship at Somerville College was won by Miss F. Isaac; in 1907 Miss C. V.

Butler obtained the Diploma in Economics 'with distinction', being the first woman to enter for the Diploma. In 1910 the Gilchrist Fellowship was awarded to Miss McFie.

Taken as a whole, these early years of the century were thus an important period in the development of the Society from within.

Certain names, well known to Oxford, have occurred in the foregoing list of Home-Student successes, and perhaps we may be allowed to point out the decided emergence of the University families during this period. Till 1906 the large majority of Home-Students were living in their own homes (in 1886, thirteen out of seventeen are so classified; in 1906 twenty-six out of forty-eight), and such names as Price, Sidgwick, Rhys, Drummond, Murray, Butler, Poole, illustrate the fact that the daughters of the married don were fulfilling their obvious duty. It was, perhaps, in some ways the most typical period of the Home-Student system. But its success and greater economy, as well as the personal reputation of Mrs Johnson, were already attracting additional numbers. By 1909 there were thirty-four students boarding in private families, and eight in lodgings, besides the twenty-nine living in their own homes; they also included a new category, seventeen at Cherwell Edge.

The elasticity of the Home-Student organization, due in part to its non-dependence on buildings, in part to the tradition inherited from the A.E.W., has been often illustrated. For example, the fact that the first generation of St. Hilda's are reckoned as Home-Students, may seem somewhat anomalous to the modern student of that College; it was due to the anxiety of the Association

to regulate the formation of new collegiate bodies of women students. The period of probation ended most satisfactorily, and St. Hilda's emerged into independent status with the full blessing and congratulations of those who had been its nursing mothers. For this chronicle the episode is chiefly noteworthy for the happy accident which gave us the right to count our second Principal an 'old student' of our Society.

Yet another example occurred in 1907, when the Nuns of the Order of the Holy Child Jesus petitioned to be allowed to set up a hostel for the reception of Roman Catholic students. This was agreed to by the Council of the Association on certain conditions, the chief of which was 'that all students and nuns preparing at Cherwell Edge for University Examinations should be registered as Home-Students'. Thus came into existence what has since developed into an important feature of our Society.

Before completing this lengthy section of our history, mention must be made of two other moves in women's higher education with which our Society was to some extent connected. The first was a conference held at Holloway College in 1897 to consider alternative proposals (i) for the conversion of the College into a separate degree-giving body; (ii) for the foundation of a women's University; (iii) for the inclusion of Holloway in a new Teaching University at Oxford. It is noteworthy to the historian of our Society chiefly for the fidelity to type shown by the various Oxford representatives, the 'anti-degree' party clutching at the idea of a women's University; the 'degree party' firmly refusing all substitutes for their ideal; while Mrs Johnson, in a speech of much humour and vivacity, introduced herself

as a 'speckled bird', partly, it would seem, because of her well known divergence from many of her friends as to the needs of women's education, partly because of her opportunity 'as the mother of two sons, both of them undergraduates', for seeing both sides of the question. The preponderating opinion at the Conference was strongly against the formation of a separate University for women.

The second was the opening to women of degrees at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1905, accompanied by the offer, during a limited period, of an '*ad eundum*' degree to fully qualified women from Oxford and Cambridge. The offer was gladly accepted by a considerable number of Oxford women, among them being several Home-Students. An interesting reflex from this new development in Dublin was the application for advice as to certain matters of internal discipline made to Mrs Johnson by some members of Trinity College. The advice and information as to Oxford ways, which she was able to give, seem to have been much appreciated—all the more, perhaps, because of her own Irish blood and connections.

III. 1909—1914.

WE now enter on a period of our history which is of equal importance to our own Society and to the women's movement in Oxford as a whole.

In November, 1908, a letter was received by the Council of the Association, the Principals of the Home-Students and of the Women's Halls, and a considerable number of persons connected with the higher education of women. The letter, coming from the Vice-Chancellor,

explained that the Hebdomadal Council had just appointed a Committee 'to consider the relation of the University to women students in Oxford and women entering for University examinations', and submitted a printed book of sixteen questions, with a request that answers and further suggestions (if desired) should be returned by the following January. The questionnaire began: 'Is it desirable that the University should undertake any responsibility for the supervision of women students in Oxford?', and it went on to suggest the formation of a Delegacy, and asked for opinions as to its functions, and its relation to the A.E.W. This move—the first official proposal by the University to recognize the presence of women in its midst—was on the whole welcome, and much time and consideration were given to the questionnaire. Some thirty sets of answers were returned to the Committee, which then drew up a draft report, the basis of which was the very careful reply sent by the Council of the A.E.W. The earlier letter had suggested that oral evidence might also be given, an invitation definitely accepted only by the Home-Students' representatives. The final results were embodied, after much correspondence and discussion, in a Statute establishing a Delegacy for Women Students, with a Secretary and Office of its own in the basement of the Clarendon Building.

To understand the full significance of this move, we must remind ourselves of the curious position into which Oxford women had been allowed to drift. For nearly thirty years they had studied in Oxford; they had attended lectures, and worked in laboratories, and had been taught by some of the best and most famous of University tutors. For more than twenty years they

had been admitted to University Examinations, in which their performance had been not undistinguished; yet, as was well remarked by a writer in the *Times*, the University had resolutely 'shut the official eye' to their presence as resident students. The entire educational organization had been left to the A.E.W. and to the Societies themselves. Despite the plain facts, the University 'Statutes' continued to publish the amazing statement that no one who was not a member of the University could be admitted to University Examinations. In obedience to this policy of kindly repression, the woman student who wished to enter her name for a University Examination had to repair, not to the University Registry, but to the Delegacy for Local Examinations in Merton Street. (The employment of the 'Locals' Office for this purpose was a reminder of the important part which it had played in the early days of women's higher education, by providing special examinations for women, but with the opening of University Examinations the practice had become an anachronism.) No distinction between resident and non-resident women was made with regard to entry for University Examinations. By far the largest number of candidates were, of course, living in Oxford, but with the conditions of residence—Hall, hostel, lodging or private house—the University had in no way concerned itself. The whole thing had been, in fact, a kind of stage secret.

The new Statute gave definite recognition to resident students and provided for their control. The five existing Societies were recognized. No new Halls, Hostels, or similar institutions could be set up without the consent of the Delegacy for Women Students,

though details as to residence in College and in private houses were left to the various governing bodies. A register was to be kept by the University, and the status of 'registered woman student' was to be a necessary qualification, so far as resident women were concerned, for admission to University Examinations other than Responsions. The entry of names for examinations was removed from the Secretary for Local Examinations and given to the Secretary of the new Delegacy. The control and organization of education was left, as before, to the women's Colleges and to the Association, which retained most of its powers unimpaired, with one important exception. The government of the Home-Students was to be transferred from the Committee of the A.E.W. Council, which had controlled it since 1893, to a Committee of the Delegacy, and the appointment of the Principal was given to the Delegates. Besides the obvious satisfaction to be derived from 'recognition', even in this half-hearted form, the most valuable part of the Statute was the formation of the Delegacy itself, a University body on which men and women for the first time acted together. The original draft by Council had proposed that it should contain, in addition to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, nine members of Convocation, and nine women, and the inclusion of the latter element—gladly welcomed by the women themselves—was secured after something of a struggle, but by large majorities. The Principal of the Home-Students was to be a member *ex officio*, the other eight (of whom two must be Principals) were to be chosen by an electoral body of women concerned in the teaching and administration of the five Societies or of the Association. The exercise of this vote, under the eye of a University

official, was a proud moment for the hitherto 'unrecognized'.

What was the special importance of the whole movement to our Society, and what was the attitude to it of those 'most intimately responsible for the Home-Students?

Mrs Johnson's first feeling had been one of considerable anxiety. The grounds for this are clearly shown in the notes which remain of her official reply to the Vice-Chancellor, a reply which expressed some of her deepest convictions, and raised points most necessary to be made in explanation and defence of the Home-Students.

In the first place, she laid characteristic stress on the value of the A.E.W., with its extremely good central organization of women's education in Oxford, and deprecated any superseding of its educational functions by the new Delegacy—a body which must possess much less knowledge of the development and organization of women's education. She pointed out the desirability of including on the electoral body both tutors and other women connected with the administrative side of the work, Secretaries and Bursars of the Halls, for instance, and persons who had served long upon their governing bodies, such as Mrs T. H. Green.

Mrs Johnson had greeted with considerable alarm some allusions in the proposed Statute to hostels, boarding houses and out-of-college residence generally, and gave a clear exposition of the constitution of our own Society, and its difference from the Non-Collegiate system among men. To encourage the women's colleges to have 'out-students' in their own homes or private houses would be, she considered, to strike at the foundation of the Home-Student system, and run counter

to the 'honourable understanding' on which it had grown up. 'The strength of the Society has lain in the fact that a high standard has been set by the inclusion amongst its members of the daughters of resident members of the University, and if this were lost, the question of discipline might become difficult, whereas at present there has been no difficulty at all, and its members, when they leave Oxford, have as good a chance of first-rate posts as College or Hall Students'. She also pointed out to Council the desirability of clearing up the position as to Diploma Students. By Statute, membership of the University was not a necessary qualification for admission to most of the Diploma Examinations. Women Diploma candidates were increasing—mainly as a result of the popularity of the Geography Diploma—and in practice it had been found desirable to encourage these women to register as Home-Students, Colleges being less willing to receive them for a one or two years' course. In the interests of a common code of discipline for all women students studying in Oxford it would be well, Mrs Johnson pointed out, that these Diploma students should be obliged to submit to registration. She strongly deprecated the encouragement of hostels, 'since they possess neither the advantage of a real College nor the advantage of home life'. She was willing to make an exception for those already existing, *i.e.* the houses 'attached to the Women's Halls'—admittedly only a temporary substitute for further collegiate buildings, and a hostel of a special religious persuasion, such as Cherwell Edge. Where such a hostel was felt to be desirable, she advised that its students should be members of the Society of Oxford Home-Students, and kept in close connection with it.

Mrs Johnson's opinions were treated with respect, and she was invited to give her evidence to the Committee of Council, after it had drawn up a report on the written replies which had been received. She was not alone among friends of women's education in her fears, which were shared by the Rector of Exeter. It is true that his opposition was mainly based on the view that the proposed Delegacy would be an anomaly, and meaningless unless intended as a half-way stage to 'full recognition', of which he could never approve. But he also seems to have scented danger to the Home-Students, 'the very students whom the University ought to encourage, and not to interfere with in any way'. Other friends, and notably Miss Rogers, had meanwhile taken a different line with regard to the proposed changes. Considering recognition by the University to be worth almost any trouble and difficulty, she immediately set to work to improve the proposed machinery, on lines calculated for permanence.

Keeping in close contact with Mrs Johnson, whose duties as Principal, aided only by a half-time secretary, gave her little leisure for additional business and consultation, Miss Rogers sought the advice of friendly members of Council and especially of Professor Geldart, who in 1908 had become one of the A.E.W. Trustees, and who from this time till his death proved himself one of the best friends of women's education in Oxford. To these two and to their labours, both in the formation and in the working of the Delegacy, the Society is deeply indebted. The Honorary Secretary of the Association may well have seen from the first that the new proposals entailed the ultimate elimination of the body which she represented, but she also saw

and pointed out clearly the lines of temporary demarcation which should exist between it and the Delegacy. She perceived that the development would in many ways be especially valuable to the Home-Students, an organization of which the growth had been tolerated, but never encouraged, by the women's colleges, and whose permanence had never been definitely assured. An arrangement by which the A.E.W. retained the formal direction of women's education, including the valuable Nettleship Library, and handed over the control of the Home-Students to the Delegacy, would be on lines likely to be adopted in the future: for, if women were at any time to be more closely related to the University, as our constitutional expert pointed out, the Halls would naturally be ranked as 'New Foundations', and the Home-Students be placed under a Delegacy like the Non-Collegiate.

Mrs Johnson gradually abandoned her opposition to the Delegacy, which she had always seen to promise advantages to the women's cause as a whole. Professor Geldart seems to have reassured her on the dangerous subject of hostels and out-students, and she now joined with Miss Rogers in devoting much attention to the rules as to qualification for the electoral board, which she was anxious should be as widely representative as possible. At her interview with the Committee of Council, and in Correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor, she had opportunities for explaining the financial needs of the Society, and for pointing out the necessity of a strong Home-Student Committee, composed primarily of persons interested in our Society. She was characteristically convinced that, thanks to the inherent interest of the work, some wife or daughter of a University

man would probably always be forthcoming to perform the duties of Principal of the Home-Students gratuitously.

The Statute was gradually piloted through the various stages, not without opposition and attempts at amendment, particularly with regard to Home-Students, and finally passed Convocation in November, 1910. The newly constituted Delegacy almost immediately appointed a Committee to report on the Home-Student question. This Committee made a careful report on the origin, status, and property of the Society and recommended the immediate appointment of the new governing body. This body, which came into being in the summer of 1911, was composed of the Principal, seven delegates (including Mr Warner, the Controller of Lodgings) and seven non-delegates. Professor Geldart, as Chairman of the Delegacy, became chairman of this new Committee, and thereby began his close connection with the Society. One of its first cares was finance, and it succeeded in obtaining from the Delegacy a grant towards expenses of £25 a year—a relief to Mrs Johnson, who had been apprehensive as to the starving of the Society as a result of its removal from the control of the A.E.W., which had, as has been shown, made itself responsible for the expenses of the Society.

That the Delegacy, in assuming control, would incur at least some financial responsibility for the Society, she had insisted from the first; and to the argument that Home-Students had no special claim on funds which were derived from the fees of all women students alike, she replied that the Society did a work of general service in undertaking the care of the short-time foreigners. Anyone who had experience of Mrs Johnson's dining-room on a morning early in a Michaelmas Term,

with its medley of tongues and nationalities, could endorse her claim as to the hard work entailed by this side of the Principal's duties. Of its public utility the Delegates were evidently, as a whole, convinced. They demanded a report on the 'short-time students', endorsed the policy of the governing body as to their registration, and committed themselves to the financial grant.

Despite the anxiety which attended the constitution of the Women's Delegacy, and the subsequent working out of its implications, our Society had gained enormously. Recognition by the University of the Society and of its Principal, and the possibility of a much stronger Committee, were solid stages in the path of progress. Much was due to the statesmanship of Professor Geldart and Miss Rogers; much to the personal respect earned by Mrs Johnson, and to a belief in the excellence of a work to which she had devoted herself. Her opposition and criticism had led to the recognition and avoidance of certain possible dangers, especially as to the residence question. She would, there is no doubt, have 'preferred an arrangement by which the old Association could have been turned into a Delegacy', but when once the new system was inaugurated, she worked under it with characteristic loyalty, though with humorous sighs as to the duplication of business involved in the dual system of Delegacy and Association. We may perhaps be allowed to quote here the valedictory blessing bestowed by the Association on our Society, when handing over its administration to the Delegacy: 'The Council desires to express its sense' (runs the A.E.W. Report of 1910-1911) 'of the important services rendered to the Home-Students by their Principal, Mrs Johnson. By her wise care and unfailing devotion she has not only won the respect and

affection of the individual students, but she has created a Society which has received from the University the same recognition that has been granted to the Colleges and Halls. Credit is also due to the students, who, by their 'good conduct, industry and academic distinctions, have justified the University in undertaking responsibility for the government of the Society'.

In the next few years the Delegates could report on a steady development of the Society on the constitutional and financial side. In 1913 four tutors were appointed, this being the first creation of a separate tutorial staff for Home-Students, as apart from that of the Association. These four tutors—representing History, English, and German—also held the rank of Association tutors, as did those of the Colleges, until 1921. They received no salary beyond the fees of the pupils, but the step was an important one towards the building up of a permanent tutorial staff on collegiate lines. Despite Mrs Johnson's resolution to continue her services gratuitously, the Delegates opened an appeal for an endowment fund on which the first charge was to be a stipend for the future Principal. As a result of this, £500 was handed over in 1913 to the University Chest, the first of the eight Trust Funds which it now [1930] holds on behalf of the Society. Partly as a result of this, partly as a result of an increase of fees, which the Committee felt obliged to demand from Home-Students, they were able to go with a stronger case to the Delegates, who raised their grant to the Society to £50 a year.

A Gilchrist Scholarship was offered this year by the Gilchrist Trustees: this was the first provision of a permanent character for a Home-Student Scholarship,

though special scholarships covering the career of one student only had been raised more than once in the past.

The Report of 1911 shows that, though the average number of students in residence in any one term was barely a hundred, during the three terms a hundred and forty-two students had passed through the Society, including forty-two foreigners. These increasing numbers of Home-Students rapidly absorbed Mrs Johnson's interest, though she continued to keep a watchful eye on the financial and constitutional developments affecting the Society as a whole. She was much delighted by a domestic event which took place in the autumn of 1911, the formation of the Old Students' Association. From its inception until her death she only missed two of our annual 'Gaudies'. Her speech of welcome and of reminiscence was always the most prized event of such gatherings.

Another event which won some *kudos* for the Society was a performance in 1912 of the *Troädes* in Professor Gilbert Murray's translation. Thanks to his coaching and to that of Miss Penelope Wheeler, a high standard of amateur performance was reached, and the substantial sum of £50 was handed over as a result to the newly established Endowment Fund for the Society.

In 1913 we adopted our present crest, the design of the beaver being drawn by Mrs Williams, wife of one of our Delegates (now Bishop of Carlisle), the motto being suggested by Mrs Johnson from that of the Todd family.

Before leaving the subject of the Women's Delegacy we must note the almost simultaneous but independent re-awakening of the 'Degree Question'. This was the direct result of a move by the Chancellor, Lord Curzon.

In his famous 'Scarlet Letter' of February, 1909, and again in the following June, Lord Curzon had challenged the University to consider this question, and Council had resolved to bring it before Congregation 'at an early date'. It is clear, however, that the proposal for a Delegacy preceded the degree proposals, and the Committee of Council, which reported in November, 1909, specifically described their resolutions on the Delegacy as made 'quite independently of the question of granting Degrees to Women, on which their opinions are divided'. There was clearly a distinct and separate motive for the Delegacy move—a belief that the time had come to abandon the 'ostrich' policy with regard to women, and by 'recognizing', win some measure of control. In particular, we are bound to admit, was this felt to be the case with regard to Home-Students. But though chronologically distinct, the two movements were logically connected. The appointment of the committee to consider the Delegacy proposals had been noted in the Chancellor's Memorandum as bringing women to 'the very threshold of the one form of recognition that is most desired, and is the crown and climax of all'. 'The University', Lord Curzon pointed out in 1909, 'may be said to yield the reality, while withholding the name'. By the actual creation of the Delegacy, in November, 1910, a writer in the *Times* could claim that a great advance had been made, and the next step would be easier. 'Oxford has recognized that she has daughters, and some day she will give to them, as to her her sons, the right to bear her name and wear her gown'. (The *Times* Women's Supplement, November 12th, 1910).

IV. THE WAR PERIOD, 1914—1918.

ACROSS this space of steady, hopeful development cuts the chasm of the Great War. To write of it from the point of view of our own Society, or of women's education only, would be impossible. We must either attempt a picture of Oxford as a whole, or leave this chapter unwritten. And it is a strange, unnatural Oxford that our war-time memory recalls—full, on the surface, of busy 'war activities'—at heart seared, desolate and forlorn.

In a University town, perhaps, the outward change was soonest apparent. In our streets, almost at once, cap and gown gave way to khaki and to 'Kitchener's blue'. Many companies of the 'First Hundred Thousand' found billets in Oxford's vacant lodgings, to be followed, as the years rolled on, by airmen, cadets and subalterns from many lands. Hospitals sprang up in the Schools, in the Town Hall, in Somerville (the war generation of Somervillians were housed in Oriel—an episode unique in the women's movement in Oxford). French 'atte-Oxford', as well as 'atte-Louvain', soon became a sound familiar to our ears, Belgians, and, later, Serbians, being received with whole-hearted hospitality. Waking and sleeping, bugles sounded in our ears. The Parks were given over to drill; with mingled awe and raillery we watched the ranks of 'Godley's veterans', manned with poets, professors and distinguished dons, 'forming fours' on the once-sacred cricket ground. But if the soldier so soon took the place of the undergraduate, more than ever had the latter come to his own. Absent in the flesh, he was yet ever in our thoughts.

‘Why did we educate such drones,
Lost to all grace, all sense of duty?’

sang ‘a Don’ remorsefully in *The Oxford Magazine*
that first autumn of the war.

‘Duty! There came an August night!
Next morning? He had gone that minute.
Perhaps to join the O.T.C.,
Perhaps to take commission in it.

In an case (pray Heaven!) he’s *there*
In circumstances not luxurious,
(No sense of duty!) God knows where.
And—here *we* are—and—well! it’s curious.’

The bewildered, excited sense of inferiority gave way to one of grief and tragedy, as the casualty lists came in, and the ‘Rolls of Honour’ in college chapels grew ever longer in contrast to the short list of ‘members in residence’. It became almost intolerable to those who were left, the women and such men as could in no wise get themselves accepted for war service, to reflect on those who had ‘died in such numbers, with all or nearly all their promise unfulfilled’. ‘What we have lost in them,’ was finely said by Dr Strong in his Vice-Chancellor’s speech, ‘is irrecoverably lost. But we have gained something, too, which I hope we may never lose; we have seen our men as they really are’. ‘Oxford and Cambridge’ (to quote another Oxford writer) ‘had a gift to offer which struck the onlooker as richer than most, more brilliant, more pathetic, more inevitably suggesting the idea, by all worldly standards, of incalculable and heroic waste’.

Against this sombre background, how did Oxford women play their part?

Fortunate, indeed, were those felt to be who had already finished their University course, and rapidly they proved their worth. Many and interesting were their careers of war service, and not least among old Home-Students. A large number used their special knowledge of languages, of research, or of social work, in the higher ranks of the Government departments—in the Ministries of Pensions, of Labour and of Munitions, in the Censorship, and in the 'War Trade Intelligence Department'. Others were to be found 'in munitions', doing clerical, welfare or analytical work (such as S. M. Harrison, a Research Chemist in a High Explosives Factory), and many others in hospitals, as whole- or part-time nurses. Some joined foreign hospital units, such as E. Fowler in Paris and Ierne Plunket in the Scottish Women's Hospital's Russian Expedition.

We heard, too, of our foreign students working for their own wounded—L. Richard in France, E. Radulescu in Roumania, and in Russia Ina Chagin, who lost her life by a bomb. Others helped to organize the Women's Land Army, or joined the W.R.N.S. or Q.M.A.A.C. Relief work among war victims abroad was undertaken to a rather marked degree—by C. E. Lewis among Belgian refugees to Holland, by M. B. Crook in the north of France (*vide* her charming little account, entitled 'In the Track of the Storm'): O. Rhys, M. Sidgwick and M. McFie represented us in Serbian Relief work in Corsica, where Miss McFie, 'at the mountain village of Bocagnano, ruled in unbridled but benevolent authority a colony of three hundred and fifty Serbs'. 'The only constitutional check on her

authority (as Miss Sidgwick reported to the 'Ship') was the Ajaccio telephone, but you could always pretend not to hear it !'

Nor must we forget that many 'took the place of a man' in boys' schools and some in University posts—such as E. Davies as Modern Language Lecturer at Armstrong College, and E. Kendrew as Geography Lecturer at Reading. In banks and offices, too, old Home-Students played their part. And countless others were engaged in the part-time activities that busy people could perform, among soldiers' families or the wounded, or in work for canteens and for War Savings. (May we be allowed to include Mrs Johnson, who played regularly for the Sunday services in the 'Base Hospital' at the Schools?)

With the knowledge of all the 'war work' among their elders or 'non-student' contemporaries, it was hard indeed for the student to stick to books and lectures. The modern generation, who remember the 'General Strike' of 1926, may dimly guess the tumult of her mind. Two contrary calls were sounded in her ears—the one bidding her rush to war-work, not selfishly educate herself while Rome was burning; the other, urging on her the duty to stop and train to fill the place of men who had gone forth, '*haud redituri*'.

'Perhaps we hardly realize yet', said Mrs Johnson in 1915, 'to what extent the safety of our nation and people, the tone of our public life, our capacity as a nation for having a "right judgment in all things", may depend on the training of our young girls and women in clear thought, in knowledge of nations and men in the past, in the problems of social life, and the questions of State help and administration Let us take

courage in our work, even though it seem not to be directly concerned with the War'.

Rightly and naturally, however, our numbers fell—from one hundred and four in Trinity Term, 1914, to eighty-four in the following Michaelmas, and finally to sixty-seven in 1916. This was due in part to a diminution in foreign students—there were none from Germany or France, though there were a few Belgian and Russian refugees, a Roumanian, a Pole and a Bohemian. But it implied also the disappearance of all but the most serious students—those working for Honours and Diplomas. If lectures were fewer, and if some of the women dons had departed, there was yet this special privilege for the war-time student, the older men who had remained in Oxford were kind in taking women as pupils. (It was at this period that Mr Arthur Johnson resumed his teaching of women, which many history students can still recall with delight.) In a sense the women were immediately useful in helping to keep the machinery going; a few examinations were actually held for women only. The good results in examinations at this time were evidence of the steady work done. Rather surprisingly, perhaps, there was an increase in students taking up research, and one of these, Miss Connaughten, a Home-Student, was awarded the Gilchrist Studentship in 1916.

Yet it was hard to concentrate on study when the world was crumbling around us. Word would arrive of brothers returned from the Front, and sisters were summoned home to share what was perhaps the last 'leave', or again to hear the fatal news of bereavement. It was with aching hearts that many of our students 'carried on', and full credit must be given for the

steadiness and high purpose that upheld them. One went down to do mathematics at an aerodrome, and one or two to enter the 'Services', but for the most the old routine continued, and the old games and clubs were carried on, with innocent social gatherings on somewhat diminished rations. Dramatic performances flourished, a relief from restlessness of mind and drabness of surroundings, but they were almost invariably given for the benefit of the wounded or of some relief fund.

Direct 'war work' was also performed in various small ways—helping to dig in allotments to increase the national food supply; visiting hospitals and wheeling out the wounded in chairs; and, in vacations, strenuous bouts of work on the land, hopping and fruit-picking. E. M. Almond was an ardent organiser of such work among University women. We contributed to parcels for prisoners of war. and once, in response to a pathetic letter received by Mrs Johnson, sent books to a desolate French school, where a former student was taking the place of her husband, who was on active service.

There were lectures and mighty 'hymn-singings' in the Sheldonian, to raise our drooping hearts, and in particular two inspiring addresses from Mr Fisher and Professor Gilbert Murray on the call to women to train as teachers. Those who were present in the dusk in our little Common Room in Ship Street will not forget Mr Murray's plea for the spiritual aspect of education. They had reaped, he urged, where others had sown. Three generations of women had toiled for their freedom, and now there was the daily sense that others were laying down their lives for them. The building up after the war would lie with the older men, the little boys, the women. 'Remember that *you* must sow now for

others to reap You have got to stand out against the utilitarian view of education—you, especially, because you have been to a University. Oxford has always stood for the spiritual side of education. Cling to that! We cannot raise the world without it. And if you enter on the work of education in this spirit, you will find satisfaction'.

This address we owed to an invitation from Miss Una Goodwin, a faithful friend to the Society, herself exemplifying the highest view of education. To her we also owed a donation which formed, in 1916, the nucleus of our present Loan and Grants Fund, and again, some years later, the founding of the prize which bears her name.

What shall we say of the elder members of the Society in Oxford? Many women tutors had left, but enough remained to carry on, and these, in the ever-growing shortage of lecturers, had recourse to the new experiment of giving some lectures themselves. Informal women's 'faculty-meetings' began in this period, helped in some cases by members of the University, and valuable experience was gained. Throughout, our Principal never wavered. With their enormous range of friends and of pupils, she and her husband were in constant sorrow for the loss of well-known young lives, as well as constant anxiety for their own two sons who were 'serving'. Like many others, they aged visibly; but both bore themselves with a certain sternness, a blend of courage and of sorrow of heart. Having decided it to be right and worth while to continue women's higher education, Mrs Johnson was resolved that there was to be no slackness nor half-heartedness about the work. Neither student nor teacher must allow it to be lowered in quality, even by attention to the minor activities of the War.

By 1918, life had become very grim, and the chief surviving inspiration was the instinct to 'carry on'. The dread influenza epidemic was at its height when 'Tom' boomed forth the news of Peace on that wonderful 11th of November. Our great bell had shared the trials of war with us. His winter curfew had been hushed by fear of air raiders, but his voice had called us daily at noon to prayer for our soldiers and sailors. We listened silently to the solemn news. When the great tolling ceased, the hush was broken and the bells of all the churches burst forth. The War was over, and for the moment we gave ourselves to joy.

V. MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNIVERSITY.

IS it possible to revive, for those who did not live through them, the peculiar flavour in Oxford of the years immediately following the cessation of the War?

Here was no weariness nor disillusionment—rather the spirit of a joyful resurrection, such as we had not dreamt of in the four dead desolate years. Suddenly, ere we were fully awake to realize it, Oxford was alive again; she was bubbling and surging with young life. The first symptom, in January, 1919, was that of freshmen wandering round as of old, with parent or friend to guide their purchases; then appeared whole batches of undergraduates in cap and gown—or in football or rowing gear. Almost daily we heard of some fresh return of tutor or fellow from army or from Government office. Cadets vanished abruptly. Khaki did not all go with them at once, for many of the undergraduates were not yet demobilised; from private to brigadier-general we saw them trooping to lectures. Crutches and other

marks of war were often among them; but the sap was flowing strongly, and the older men whom desire to 'carry on' had kept to their posts in Oxford, went about with lighter step and thankful hearts. The revival was quicker, more amazing than could have been anticipated. Every man's college was soon full to over-flowing, so that the limits of the 'University radius' had to be enlarged. Then came the Summer Term, with brilliant weather, with still more undergraduates and still fewer soldiers. All the hospitals within the city closed; men and women passed once more to the terrors of Schools through the portals in High Street (across a doormat still bearing the legend 'Third Southern General Hospital'). Trenches were filled up, and the tabernacles of the Air Force were removed from the Parks, where the click of the cricket bat was heard once more. Eights were revived in a modified form, and even a few garden parties followed in their train. The Encaenia, graced by most of the chief heroes of the War, closed a Trinity Term such as we had not known for many a long year.

It was somewhat of a surprise to find a similar phenomenon in the increased demand for admission from women. All five Societies were besieged, but the Home-Students, being most susceptible of rapid expansion, were most immediately affected. In three months our numbers doubled, leaping from eighty-eight in the Summer 'Term of 1919 to one hundred and sixty-seven the following Michaelmas—'something of an interesting fact', as Mrs Johnson quietly noted in her Annual Report. The courage to which this fact bore witness in a Principal of seventy-three years can only be appreciated when it is remembered that we had then no office except that of the A.E.W., which we shared with the Halls,

nor a public room of any size to meet in, and that Mrs Johnson had no secretarial assistance during the Long Vacation. Undaunted, she met the flood; she personally interviewed every applicant with regard to work and residence, and in her own house, on one afternoon, held two successive terminal meetings, when tea was served to all by the indomitable 'Agnes and Ellen,' and notices were given out from the stairs, from the door, from any vantage point from which the silencing rattle of a teaspoon on a saucer could be heard. This was 'Home-Studenting' 'in excelsis'.

The increase might be partly accounted for by special circumstances. Foreign students had re-appeared to the number of thirty-nine. Graduates of other British Universities were attracted by the new research certificates and by diplomas. Ten were wives of former members of the University - men with Rhodes Scholarships, or Research Fellowships, or the honour of taking 'shortened courses' for their degrees. A few women were themselves able to claim similar exemptions for War service, though not performed in the trenches. 'An interesting new type', remarked Mrs Johnson, 'is the young woman who for five years has been actively pursuing War work, and has discovered that steady work for one's fellow creatures is sweet, and that some kind of training and preparation for it is advisable. 'There is therefore some doubt', she concluded, 'whether in the future these large numbers are likely to continue.'

To settle this doubt in the affirmative came the decision of the University to admit women to Degrees. It is strange to recall the swiftness and the calm with which this long desired privilege was finally accorded, nor is this the place to consider how much was due to the

lead given by the Chancellor before the War, how much to the example set by Parliament in granting the vote to Oxford and Cambridge women, how much to the change wrought by the war in the position of women as a whole. Again it is too soon for history to adjudge the value of work done by individual labourers in the field, but those who heard Professor Geldart's speech introducing in February, 1920, the famous Titulus xxiii, and who saw him and Miss Rogers shake hands after Convocation, felt themselves witnesses of a historic conclusion to a long campaign. With dignity and with generosity the University made its gift; full membership of the University was more than we had dared to hope. Quietly, sobered by the War, and by a sense of future responsibility, the recipients accepted it. One moment of tense emotion we could not escape, on the first degree day for women, October 14th, 1920, when the ordinary course of the ceremony was broken by the opening of the great doors of the Sheldonian to admit the five Principals with Mrs Johnson at their head—erect, supported by her ebony stick—all of them for the first time arrayed in cap and gown. The scene of enthusiasm which ensued was as unrehearsed as it was unexpected; unrehearsed, too, was the rising of the Vice-Chancellor to greet the first women M.A.'s who had ever set foot in the Ancient House. They passed to the '*locus superior*' behind the Vice-Chancellor, and we watched the Chairmen of the various Societies presenting each their limited number of candidates. Among the five allowed to our own Society (the total number of women candidates being carefully regulated) Home-Students were proud to greet the first woman B.C.L. (Ivy Williams), and candidates both for the B.Litt. and the B.Sc., as

well as one of their own tutors receiving the M.A. degree. (The standard of curtesy set by those first M.A.'s has never, surely, since been attained!)

The students had also their excitements, for every one of them (except a few who elected to retain their old status) had to be matriculated. Two hundred and fifty Home-Students stood before the Vice-Chancellor that term—including their Principal and tutors, for every graduate had also to be matriculated. Academic dress was a thrilling novelty, worn with the utmost pride by the 'undergraduette,' with shyness by the woman don, who had lived long enough under the old regime to feel self-conscious under the change. ('I have always felt myself belonging to the University', murmured one of those 'daughters of University families' on whom Mrs Johnson had laid so much stress, 'and this feels rather like dressing up for a charade!') Yet we knew ourselves to be living in an age of historic fulfilment, reaping the harvest which we had not sown. For ourselves we felt doubtfully worthy of our honours, particularly those of us on whom the University so kindly bestowed degrees 'by decree'; such pride as we allowed ourselves was for the fact that we alone were still blessed with a Principal who had been one of the earliest pioneers, and had now steered her ship into port.

That Mrs Johnson, who had opposed the opening of the degree to women in 1895, should have accepted its final bestowal with pleasure, may at first appear inconsistent, but she undoubtedly felt that the time was at length ripe. The removal of the requirement of *both* Latin *and* Greek in Responsions, and the establishment of Honour Schools of English and Modern Languages, had opened courses to women which she felt to

harmonize with their previous education. And this previous education, given in schools, had greatly progressed since the 'nineties. Yet her thankfulness was clouded by a very real grief at the decision of the University, when granting degrees retrospectively, to bestow them only on those who had fulfilled the strict degree course. This prevented a considerable number of old students from taking their degrees until they had completed an extra year's residence, or 'filled in' the intermediate examination which a man would have taken between Responsions and Final Schools. That some of our most distinguished students should have to cram Greek for 'Smalls', and struggle through Pass Moderations and Divinity, before they could claim their degrees, caused her real indignation. 'I often long to barter my degree for degrees for those to whom it matters so much more', she said at the Gaudy in November, 1920, when she defended the cause of her 'non-degree course' old students. 'We who can look back', she urged, 'know well that in no case were examinations shirked, but that for a long time the University intermediate examinations were not open, and the Finals for Modern Languages and English had only been arranged by the University for women, and that the course followed by our students was on the strong recommendation of their tutors. Classical teaching hardly existed in Girls' Schools then, and if those who were able to become experts in History, English Language and Literature, and in Modern Languages, had spent a considerable part of the short time they could afford here in grinding up the elements of Latin and Greek, we should have been in a parlous condition indeed for resident tutors here, at first, and for first-rate

teachers in the schools all over England. Those early people were patriotic people, and we owe them a great deal'.

Very few were the complaints raised by the 'non-degree-course' old students, though many were the enquiries which poured in as to the correct methods of completing their qualifications. Some threw up their work, some got 'leave off' for a term or so, some struggled through the unaccustomed work amid their ordinary life as mother or teacher. A happy result was a kind of revivification of the Society, which was constantly receiving old students, returning for a season to its bosom. Many old friendships were renewed, many a link between new and old has been forged by this curious necessity. 'Whatever kind of life you may have been living,' wrote one of the 'revenues', 'it is good to come back to Oxford, and to be admitted to the fellowship of younger students in this University, which opens its gates to all students regardless of the calendar, where June and September dwell together in amity, even as on a wild rose bush seen in the Parks, with a pink rose in full bloom, set among the red berries of early autumn'. This phase is nearly over, never to return, but it is worthy of chronicle. Never again shall we see our tutors lecturing in their scholar's gowns, or disappearing in the last week of term to take 'Groups' and 'Prelims'; never again will a Vice-Principal marshal so many of her 'elders and betters' in short gown before the Vice-Chancellor; and never again will it be necessary to beg from a long-suffering University for so many decrees, to relieve the 'special cases' whose preliminaries fitted into no scheme of work recognized for the degree. The special character of our Society—

its deliberate welcoming of those for whom the strict course had been a serious difficulty—undoubtedly added to the problem of its adjustment to the new order of things.

In other ways, also, these post-war years were a time of fruition and of new growth. In 1919 Mary Porter was awarded the Lady Carlisle Fellowship at Somerville, to carry on research in Crystallography. The Ottley sisters were winning distinctions for the Society, the younger getting the Margaret Evans History Prize in 1919, the elder a Gilchrist Fellowship in the following year. 1920 was a 'three-Firsts' year—two in Physiology, one in English, and of many 'distinctions' in Diplomas. It was also a year of athletic prowess, a joint team of St. Hilda's and Home-Students winning the Lacrosse Cup, as 1919 had been a year of dramatic performance, resulting in the substantial profit of £50 handed over to the Oxford Students' Fund for the Garrett Anderson Hospital for Women. Last of all we might mention our one and only 'Commem: Ball', held in the Masonic Hall in June, 1920, blessed by the presence of Mr and Mrs Johnson throughout the evening, and by visits from members of the Governing body, one of whom is known to have danced! The joke of the evening was the 'dragon' set to ward from the door the uninvited guest, past whose sturdy line of defence two University Professors with difficulty made their way. The younger, pleading his Professorship, met the crushing retort: 'Oh, we've heard that sort of tale before'; the second, of more obviously professorial years, arrived amused and benignant, having satisfied the enquiry: 'I suppose you are the *elderly* gentleman whom I was told to admit?'

The spring of 1921 witnessed an event of special importance to Oxford women—the visit of the Queen to Oxford to receive the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. Her Majesty, in graciously accepting this, the first Honorary Degree bestowed on a woman, turned her visit into one of especial honour to the women's colleges.

After meeting the five Principals at lunch at Balliol, she visited first Somerville, and then Lady Margaret Hall. There, in the garden, the tutors and students of four societies were drawn up to witness the presentation of a book to the Queen by the five 'Senior Students'. Before the critical, if gratified, eyes of their pupils, the tutors then made their curtsies to the Queen, Mrs Johnson, as senior Principal, being the first to present the members of her staff. The look of dignified command with which our Principal summoned us to the terrace still lives in the memory, as does the little group of tutors who hung round her, as she rested after the ceremony on a sunny seat in the garden, loth, in their pride and affection, to lose sight of her on her last big public appearance. For in this hour of 'fulfilment and of hope', the Society had learnt of the impending resignation of its first Principal, learnt it with a pang of grief, but with a sense of the inevitable fitness of the moment. It so happened that the five years' period, at the close of which her formal re-election was prescribed by Statute, ended in December, 1920, a month before Mrs Johnson's birthday of seventy-five. She had borne the burden of the Society for nearly forty years—a burden of late almost incredibly increased. In her own house, and with only one assistant, she was dealing with a body of over two hundred students, and facing the extraordinary intricacies which seemed to follow woman's admission



MRS B. J. JOHNSON, M.A.
1921

to the University. Those who watched her could only feel wonder and pride at the devotion to the cause, and the stern contempt for the strain upon herself, which she displayed to the very end of her official career.

Mrs Johnson's term of office was prolonged to the end of Hilary Term, 1921, so as to give her time to leave all in order, after the first overwhelming rush of 'degrees'. Her last terms were filled, as far as she would permit, with expressions of gratitude and affection, almost of despair, pouring in from far and near. The news of her resignation seemed at first hard to believe. It was almost impossible to think of the Society apart from her. One old student after another tried to express this. 'One of the joys of looking forward to coming up again' wrote one, who was about to return to complete her degree, 'was the thought of being one of your students once more. I wish I could tell you something of what you mean to us, and something of the help and encouragement and inspiration that has come into one's life purely from being a Home-Student under you. I can never thank you for all the unfailing sympathy and personal interest that has always been waiting for us when we came back; we can only hope and believe that you have found happiness in it too'. 'I shall remember with pride all my life', wrote another, 'that I had the privilege of being a Home-Student under you'. Parents joined with their daughters' chorus of gratitude. 'For many reasons', wrote an Oxford father, 'I am sure that we parents have cause to regret your resignation, but at least we may give you heartfelt thanks for all your affectionate care and interest in our children. What we have valued chiefly has been the

touch of motherliness which has won you so deservedly the gratitude and affection of the students'.

It was this personal touch, the interest in individuals, that was in the minds of all who assembled to do her honour in a farewell gathering of chairman, tutors, students, old friends—her own husband and granddaughter being there also to support her. Never had Mrs Johnson shown greater self-command, greater absorption in the Society which she represented. It was a farewell which she felt acutely. 'I do not know exactly what one feels when one expects to have one's head cut off', she said to us naïvely, 'but I think it must be somewhat as I am feeling now; work which one has loved for nearly forty years becomes indeed a part of oneself; when you are as old as I am, I pray that you may be able to look back with as deep a gratitude as I do for years of engrossing, interesting work, with an ever-widening human interest, and blessed, as I have been, with constant help and encouragement and inspiration from fellow workers and from grateful and appreciative students'. The deepened tone of voice told of her repressed emotion. The rest of her speech, much of which has been incorporated in an earlier chapter,* dwelt wholly upon the Society, its many friends, its past history, and her ideals for its future. She left the Society occupying a position in the University for which the pioneers could have hardly dared to hope. It had grown almost imperceptibly, by a natural and healthy growth, showing a spring of life within; it was now under University direction, with every prospect of further constitutional and financial development. The Principal and Chairman had just

* Pp. 17-22.

been giving evidence before a Royal Commission, the reports of which were not yet published; but the lines of advance were clearly laid down.

It was characteristic of Mrs Johnson to lay more stress on the spirit than on the form. There has been no better definition of the Society than that in her farewell speech, nor better defence of the name which she loved so well. That we should never aim at being an imitation College, that we should strive for the combination of home and corporate life which that name implies, was to her an ideal worth striving for, because of her conviction that in many cases such a training was for a woman the best preparation for after life. It was for the sake of this ideal—sometimes less clear to modern generations—that she clung so firmly to our title. It is to our first Principal that we owe its retention, and let those who criticise it remember first its historic meaning, and secondly the fact that it saved us from the negative title of ‘Non-Collegiate’. On our admission to the University, with the consequent necessity for a Latin version of our name, this change was threatened; but a call from Mrs Johnson, escorted by her husband in his gown, convinced the Vice-Chancellor of our claims to be called a Society. The Latinized version is not very graceful; we should have preferred that of a charming inscription written many years earlier by Mr Arthur Sidgwick for some silver candlesticks presented to Mrs Johnson, ‘*Discipulae apud Oxoniam domi habitantes*’, or the suggestion of the present Public Orator, ‘*Domi habitantes vel in aedibus privatis*’, but we have had to be content with ‘*Soc. mul Oxon. priv. stud.*’ and be glad to escape the description ‘*nulli Collegio ascriptae*’, even if we could not secure the mention of ‘*domus*’. Perhaps the latter would

have given too material a meaning to the belief, shared by all true Home-Students, that 'all Oxford is our home'.

So in March, 1921, we said farewell to the first Principal of our Society, conscious that we were taking part in the conclusion of an epoch in the history of women's higher education.

EPILOGUE, 1921-1929

FOR two reasons only can the inclusion of this last period, as an epilogue to an already lengthy chapter, be defended. The first is the need to meet the natural desire of recent Home-Students to see some account, however brief, of the Society as they know it; the second is the fact that the period, so rich in new and creative work carried out under the leadership and inspiration of Miss Burrows, is yet essentially concerned with the working out of old ideas, the building upon foundations truly laid.

On its personal side, it covers the last years of Mrs Johnson's life, and the felicitous relations between herself and her successor; on its institutional side—as Miss Rogers has briefly outlined in our first chapter—it has witnessed developments of first-rate importance.

The newly-constituted Delegacy of Home-Students brought us at once into much closer relation to the University, and a period of financial and administrative re-organization followed, during which the Society—which experienced an irreparable loss in the death of Professor Geldart early in 1922—owed a deep debt to all its officers, in particular to Miss Rogers, who had now the opportunity to work out the ideals which she had cherished for some thirty years.

The result of all this labour was the building up of a central office and the achievement of some degree of financial security, both for the Principal and the tutorial staff. While the planning of the finance of our tutorial system is due to our Honorary Officers, the working out of its implications is due to Miss Burrows, whose previous experience both as tutor and as Principal of a college stood her in good stead. Emerging from the somewhat nebulous condition in which their evolution from the A.E.W. had left them, the tutors were now given definite duties and powers, to which was soon added by statute the valuable privilege of electing representatives on the Governing Body of the Society.

The transference of the control of women's residence to the University Controller of Lodgings led to a considerable stiffening of regulations in that department, as did the placing of women under proctorial control in matters disciplinary. The fitting of the old, semi-domestic method of discipline among women into the more formal system of the University was a task calling for tact and wisdom in the women Principals; well was that task surmounted, and our own Society may feel thankful for the guidance which it received.

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Amid all this expansion and development, the best of our old characteristics have been preserved. We have grown up and come into public life; our ideals have put on formal attire, but a certain 'homeliness' and sense of 'family life' have, we think, continued.

This has been due in part to the hostess system, on which our residence, and some part of our discipline

is based, and to a persistent attempt to continue in practice the combination of home and corporate life which is the main justification of our existence. But above all, it has been assisted by the strong personal sympathy that linked the old and the new *régime*, by the determination of our second Principal to carry on the tradition of the 'individual touch', and by the presence, not at the head, but rather at the hearth of the family, of one who seemed to fill (as Mrs Masefield once told us) 'the French high conception of the office of grandmother'.

Mrs Johnson's retirement from office did but give her more leisure for friendship. In many quarters of the world must now be cherished—by men and women alike—the memory of that beautiful home, with its sunny rooms, its books and its pictures, and of the garden, bright with crocuses or roses, where Mr Johnson might be found feverishly working among his flowers, or more quietly enjoying his squirrels and his birds' nests. These two octogenarian Masters of Arts occupied a unique position in Oxford; they are inseparable to the memory; when death came they were only a short time divided. His pupils, her students, were entertained with equal hospitality; his College, her Home-Student festivities were to some extent shared between them.

There recurs especially to one's memory the Gaudy when Mr Johnson was the guest of honour at our dinner at Jowett Walk, and indulged with boyish pleasure in a sparring match with Miss Rogers, over the submissiveness or non-submissiveness of their women pupils; and again the little scene, the occasion of Mrs Johnson's last words to us, when she drew his arm within hers, and spoke her thanks to 'my husband here,

whose steady work all his life has enabled me to do anything I have done'. This took place at the singularly happy celebration of her eightieth birthday, when over a hundred old students assembled to do honour to their first Principal and to add a considerable sum to the Scholarship which they had founded in her name on her retirement. (This Bertha Johnson Scholarship Fund, accepted for the Society by a decree of the University in June, 1921, has since received considerable additions.)

In other ways, too, Mrs Johnson kept in touch with, and gave her blessing to, the new dispensation, and notably by her faithful attendance at our 'Terminal Service, first held in the Common Room in the summer of '22, and since in the chancel of St. Mary's. But closest of all, and naturally so, was the bond of affection with former members of the Society. She maintained a constant correspondence with them, helping and stimulating them in their careers. The care which she bestowed on the writing of testimonials was accompanied by a singular *flair* for fitting the candidate and the post. She was visited at all times by returning students, all sure of her individual welcome and of her memory for and interest in their lives. She made them proud of their Society, and came in a special way to be its personification. The long lines of women Masters and Bachelors who followed her to her rest in April 1927 represented a far larger number of old students who mourned the loss of a personal counsellor and friend.

What was the secret of the profound moral influence, the power of counsel which developed so markedly as Bertha Johnson ripened in years? The answer is, that she guided others by her own attitude to life; by the example which she set of steadiness and thoroughness,

of devotion to duty and of service to others. She might say but little to those who went to her in their difficulties, yet her counsel would often be clear before she spoke. Self-seeking, self-excuse, self-deception shrivelled away in the light of that high aim and unsparing truthfulness of outlook.

To return, as she would wish, to the Society. We can but cast a glance over the years, on to the latest period of all, whose inauguration has blended so happily with the 'Jubilee' which we have just celebrated. Dare we carry our glance further in imagination, to the time when worthy central buildings shall hold us, and teaching and play and administration shall all be carried on under one roof? That day will be one for rejoicing, if we do not lose our special character nor aim at *too* strong a communal life.

The Beaver lives in communities; he even, we are told, undertakes work of a communal character; but he returns to sleep in his own little 'lodge', remaining at heart a 'Home-Student'.

R.F.B. (1929)



REVEREND ARTHUR H. JOHNSON

1922

From the portrait by Mrs de Glehn



MRS B. J. JOHNSON

*From the portrait by Mrs de Glehn
presented to her on her retirement*

CHAPTER IV

RECOLLECTIONS

IN 1892, when I became an Oxford Home-Student, after three years at Holloway College, the Society was still in an inchoate stage, and if it had not been for the link forged by the personality of Mrs Johnson and her unremitting care for our interests, I doubt if we should have been conscious of a corporate existence.

The actual number of students for that year is, of course, recorded in the annals. They were scattered mostly in North Oxford, a few actually at home or with relatives, the others, like myself, received into some Oxford home and through it gaining more than a glimpse of the life of the University and of all that Oxford means and does for the generations as they come and go.

Opportunities of meeting other Home-Students were not very frequent. Naturally one came to know intimately a student taking the same school as oneself, but there was at first little to bring us together, except the unfailing hospitality of Mrs Johnson. Looking back, one marvels at the unceasing, thoughtful kindness which was always directed at preventing isolation or at bringing out latent powers of sociability.

In those days, of course, women were still very much on their trial. Not all lectures were open to us; in fact, none were open except by courtesy of the lecturer. The admission of women to membership of the University seemed then a prospect indefinitely remote, and could only be discussed with caution and in the company of certain enthusiasts.

The women's Colleges had, however, by that time developed a corporate life and interests of their own, and it was the object of those who had the well-being of the Home-Students at heart that they too should come to feel themselves linked by corporate ties. I well remember the trouble that was taken to obtain for us the use of a tennis court on some land at the end of Norham Road, and the pleasure we took in what, no doubt, the modern Home-Student would regard as mere 'pat-ball'. The real step forward was the opening of the Common Room—in the winter of 1893–1894, if I am not mistaken.* The little room, with its cosy fireside, easy chairs and tea equipage, was a veritable boon, not only for its material comfort but for the opportunity it gave for forming friendships and for discussing meetings and the like. It was another evidence of the constant care for our welfare and of the generosity of many friends of the Association. Our numbers were still far too small for the inauguration of such a venture or for making it self-supporting. Yet such is the egoism of youth that I doubt whether this ever really occurred to us, at least in its full bearing.

C.J.M.H. (1892–1894).

TWENTY-SIX years ago I saw Mrs Johnson for the first time in her Merton Street home. I knew practically nothing of the possibilities of University life for women, but I was eager to read and think and learn, and chance had brought us to live in the city of scholarship made known in stories to all his children by my father.

* This attempt seems to have been abortive, as a fresh start is recorded in 1898.

Scholarship, sportsmanship and a deeply-rooted love for a country-side with character had their natural home in Oxford. We read *The Scholar Gipsy*; we recalled with glee the story of the Cambridge eels

I found my way to No. 8 Merton Street. The heavy, awe-inspiring door was opened to me. I faltered, asked for Mrs Arthur Johnson, and was greeted by a welcoming maid-servant and a good fusty smell of leather-fringed bookcases and vellum (faint foretaste of the Bodleian, which I was to learn to love later, as a sailor loves his ship).

I had been frankly funking this self-sought interview. In our old Hertfordshire home dreams had merged into fairy-tales, and the fairy-tales into hopes, but not until I saw and talked with Mrs Johnson had I dared to let these vague hopes take definite shape.

On a minute scrap of paper Mrs Johnson began writing with a sure, leisurely hand, as she talked and questioned me about school work, home, books, music, travel (I had never been out of England, except to Wales), and then went on to outline a scheme of work and special coaching which would enable me to evade 'Smalls' and start reading for the Modern History Schools in my second term.

Intuitively Mrs Johnson seemed to sense your need—your unspoken ambition. All the obstacles, which I had believed insuperable, began to break down as I watched her talk and write. That frequent uplift of clear blue eyes above the none too steady wire-framed spectacles (needed only for the downward perusal of her neat little patchwork of notes), the changing tones of voice (I liked best the deep, serious tones in which she always spoke of social work and problems, more really vital to

her than any purely academic interests), the humorous twist of mouth—all bespoke sympathy, practical understanding, and above all faith in her work for every would-be student.

Suddenly there burst in upon us, like a gust of hilltop wind, Mr Johnson, booted, spurred and mud-bespattered. This was not an official interview time. It was at least a month before Term—those last lovely mellow weeks of the Long Vacation, when a man might call his house his own, and dress and talk accordingly. And talk he did, after the first few formal words of introduction by his wife, vigorous, provocative talk. He recalled my father's athletic prowess at St. John's in the sixties; he spoke of his own horses, and his hunting with the Heythrop, and of some wonderful visionary scheme for teaching undergraduates agriculture on Shotover Hill. '*And now?*' he would pause, raise a quizzical eye, bring you into the discussion, whatever it was, if only to trample vehemently and again provocatively upon your argument. Mrs Johnson, realizing that she had necessarily led our earlier talk up to educational heights where I had felt distinctly insecure, seemed now to chuckle contentedly as she tidied her papers, and with a little sideways humorous glance watched her husband in one of his most characteristic moods, and wondered perchance what this newest of her Home-Student recruits might make of him.

That visit was the first of many equally delightful and inspiring. I seem to remember lamentably little of the History and Economics and the smattering of Philosophy which absorbed me for those three amazing O.H.-S. years, but I can still sense vividly the impressions printed on my memory by this surely unique pair of scholars, each so surprisingly the complement of the other.

Her long training in comradeship and combined work was perhaps the secret of Mrs Johnson's widespread influence. To each and all she opened not only a door of new and unexplored fields of knowledge, but wide windows on to life with its manifold interests and problems and pleasures and responsibilities. To be 'up' at Oxford as a Home-Student meant the beginning of a great adventure—a voyage of discovery with chosen comrades, and all the cheer of good fellowship in a wonderfully varied crowd of diverse nations and tongues. Mrs Johnson had a rare gift of bringing seemingly unlikely people together with the happiest results. She also possessed the still rarer gift of knowing when she had attempted to link the incompatible, and would sometimes laugh delightfully over her own mistakes. For mistakes could be made even in the selection of Tutors, and more often perhaps in the coupling of students for their special coaching visits, and the awesome ordeal of essay-reading. But were they really mistakes after all? Mrs Johnson's unperturbed chuckle would seem to question this. Incompatibility may mean conflict; yes, and conflict of thought and feeling also. But this, like the clash of two rough-edged stones, may bring a glimpse of new light, new understanding. All experience, even if it jarred occasionally, was worth while if you kept your eyes fixed on the ultimate goal. This open-mindedness, this essential charity of thought, entered into every phase of Mrs Johnson's work. But, when the occasion demanded swift and unhesitating judgment, she could become instantly the veriest martinet, and there was no room for discussion if a real question of principle arose. Once the principle had been asserted and right had triumphed over wrong, Mrs

Johnson, unruffled, would resume the even tenor of her ways. This sense of proportion, coupled with a whimsical and almost unfailing sense of humour, did perhaps more than anything else to stamp the marks of greatness upon her leadership. She spoke on her eightieth birthday of her husband, 'whose steady work has enabled me to do anything I have done'. I can see again her ready, half-protesting twinkle, were someone to suggest that it was his wayward habit of thought and argument that did so much to stimulate those greatest of all gifts for a leader of women, humour and tolerance.

Looking back, and trying to recover impressions of my student days is a somewhat puzzling task. I seem to remember myself taking Life and History and, above all, Economics in a very, very serious vein. Vast plains of ignorance opened out before me as I made desperate attacks on Stubbs, Maitland, and other mighty works relating to the Law and Constitution. I was more at home with Froude and Macaulay: they perhaps would have looked less blankly on my inaccurate renderings of Charters and Documents. Questions like 'Is there a Science of History?' left me stranded with my own all-too-romantic conception of the subject. High endeavour was essential: and for the first year or so work gave scant time for social intercourse with fellow students. The new home life in Oxford with younger brothers and sisters made urgent and irresistible demands. This, possibly, is why the Society of Home-Students, *qua* Society (1901-1904), presents a picture blurred rather by personal contests with the bugbears of History, by a few outstanding friendships dating from this period, by vivid memories of Long Vacations, by what I can perhaps best describe as the 'Genius Loci',

and the vague misty background of a life-time. Yet I can recall, I find, the thrill of discovering a special Home-Student Boat on the Cherwell, lent to the Society by its kindly parents, 'B. and A. H. Johnson', and the still greater thrill of sculling with practised oarswomen in the chillsome month of March, 1902; a few memorable hockey matches (one played in a snowstorm, which was nothing to the storm in my mind created by my first attack on 'Hobbes' Leviathan'), an inter-collegiate debate, when I marvelled at the prowess of young orators, and numerous tea-parties in which we discussed with a fierce abandon everything and anything (or so it seemed) in the world of thought. This much I can recover, but I cannot definitely remember, for instance, the names, dates, places of these tea-parties. Keen questioning faces come into the picture; but even our various temporary club rooms are difficult to disentangle. I remember happy moments spent in the rooms over the Curiosity Shop in Broad Street, and still earlier impressions come back of the dim-lit stairways and minute landings in another old house, where Home-Students were wont to hold deep converse for lack of elbow-room elsewhere. Students of to-day, basking in the sunlight of Jowett Walk, will hardly credit how eagerly we snatched at these rare opportunities for realizing our corporate life.

But it's all rather hazy; it's a long time ago, and so much has happened since that I would not like to vouch for the accuracy of many impressions I might record of our Society in those far-back days. Though far away, those days are in no sense isolated from the succeeding years. 'The River flows': that timeless truth is the essence of what Oxford means to those who learn

to know and love her as would-be scholars. Again and again we return, and each time it seems only last term that we 'went down'. Alma Mater has a continuing welcome for all her sons and daughters.

D.K. (1901-1904).

HOME-STUDENTS of to-day probably look back on all pre-war and pre-degree Home-Students as equally Early Victorian. I need hardly say that, in my time at any rate, we did not feel the least Early Victorian, but, on the contrary, in the very van of progress. I suspect that each generation of women students has felt very much the same, though a glance at the old snapshots is apt to give one a considerable shock. Is it possible that such uncommonly long skirts and such oddly perched hats went along with ideas which felt so modern?

In those days Mrs Johnson's house, in South Parks Road, was the chief, in fact, almost the only centre of the Society, as she herself was the outstanding figure. A very much larger proportion of students were then following an assortment of post-graduate or other non-degree courses, and there was consequently a much smaller number of students of normal undergraduate age. The result was that there were fewer societies, athletic or social, and less organization of all kinds. Students who lived at home, as I did, saw very little of those who were living in lodgings, and indeed the opportunities of meeting them were few. There were those tremendous 'crushes' at Mrs Johnson's terminal teas, and sometimes charades at Miss Butler's, but there was always the Dramatic Society. We met in



The Common-Room at 16 Ship Street (1910-1921)

each others' houses, and read for a couple of hours, with an interval for coffee. Our choice of plays was on the whole severely classical, though I suspect that this had as much to do with the slenderness of our purses as with the sobriety of our tastes. Shakespeare, very easily available, was the staple diet—my own copy of collected plays is still covered with pencil marks of cuts. Shaw, I think, was second favourite, though Professor Murray's translations ran him pretty close, and we ventured occasionally on Ibsen, Granville Barker, Lawrence Housman and a few younger dramatists. What a glow of reflected glory we felt when Hilda Ainley Walker was chosen to take the part of *Hermione* in the O.U.D.S. production of the 'Winter's Tale'! Our own most ambitious venture was the public performance of the 'Trojan Women' in the Masonic Hall—a glorious nerve-racking occasion.

In hockey in those days we shared a team with St. Hilda's in the Inter-collegiate Cup matches, and once, in my memory, we jointly won the cup, thanks largely to Nora Almond. This seemed an almost incredible victory to us—rather like Belgium beating Germany, only we should not have had that simile then.

The University, on the side of its undergraduate activities, seemed to us something rather marvellous and remote. One went to hear the wits and the orators at the Union, and gasped at their brilliance; and one admired the giants of dramatic genius in the O.U.D.S. performances; but otherwise one had little dealings with them, as a Home-Student, whatever one might do unofficially. Pre-war Home-Students may rightly envy post-war students their greater share in the life of the University. But for us Mrs Johnson did stand for a

very real link with academic Oxford, and thanks to the spirit she was able to infuse into us, I doubt if any undergraduate of to-day could feel more truly a part of that most honourable institution than we did.

H.M. (1908-1911).

ALTHOUGH Oxford was so profoundly thrown out of gear by the War as scarcely to seem Oxford at all, the outward life of the women students was very little altered. A student going up in 1916 found Oxford in a backwater—the centre of interest for youth having shifted from University to fields of war—but the day-to-day life of the woman student was very little different from that of her predecessor. She found colleges in the possession of O.T.C. cadets instead of undergraduates and her sex vastly in the majority at lectures; the few men in residence were mostly Orientals, the physically unfit and—since Oxford is the home of lost causes—conscientious objectors. The whole place had an air of marking time; waiting patiently for its accustomed life to come back.

Mrs Johnson was still our beloved Principal. It is impossible for those who spent their academic days under her shepherding to imagine the O.H.-S. without her gracious personality at its head. We crowded 5 South Parks Road to overflowing for terminal teas; we filtered in one by one for terminal reports; and Mrs Johnson presided at all these gatherings with such exquisite grace and dignity that probably the predominant feeling was one of pride in her. In the more intimate teas, when two or three students only were invited, one caught glimpses of a delightful humour and a wide outlook on

life. No one could have been less rigidly academic, and and she made of her academic position a warm and human relationship between Principal and student.

We students were particularly bound up with the general interest of the Society at this time. Cherwell Edge holds a singular position in Oxford, and leads a kind of double life. As it housed twenty-five students and a couple of tutors it naturally had a full and varied life of its own, but it also shared in the general activities of the O.H.-S., to which it belongs. In 1918 the bond between us was strengthened by one of us being elected Senior Student both of Cherwell Edge and the Home-Students. The various societies, Dramatic, Debating, Boat Clubs, etc., usually had some of their officers from Cherwell Edge, and our Common Room was often the scene for long and animated dramatic rehearsals. We had a tower of strength in Helen Simpson, who combined the *rôles* of playwright, producer, actor and general manager, and was largely responsible for a very successful evening at Taphouse's, when we presented a triple bill in aid of a war charity.

In the summer of 1918 there were appeals from some high authority for University women to devote part of the Long Vacation to war work. We were offered jobs at the Ministry of Pensions, flax-picking in Somerset, and fruit-picking. Those of us who chose flax-picking remember it chiefly from the novelty of sleeping six in a tent in a rain-soaked camp. But flax-picking is back-aching work, and we earned our 7/6 weekly wage!

During the next term the Armistice was signed. We hung about the Town Hall waiting for news. When it came we felt weak at the knees from relief and then light-headed. At least I distinctly remember marching

down the High arm-in-arm with another Home-Student beating a biscuit tin in a procession headed by a band of Serbian students. At the end of term post-war jubilation let itself go in an O.H.-S. fancy dress dance. It was a joyous affair, albeit completely manless!

In those days the Common Room was at 16 Ship Street. The rambling old room, planted in the very midst of the colleges, was so charming and so convenient that we could rarely resist snatching a between-lectures 'Elevens' and gossip. Not seldom the impending lecture was abandoned to a more complete enjoyment of Mrs Freeman's excellent coffee and buns.

A University venture that raised the enthusiasm of some of us Home-Students was the Co-operative Wholesale Society. The economic minds had preached 'sweated labour' and the crimes 'of the iniquitous middleman' to us until, burning to right wrongs, we worked so hard in the cause of 'From Factory to Consumer' that we got ourselves made vice-presidents and secretaries.

Those of us who took Schools in 1919 were near the end of the old dispensation. The War had altered things for women, and caps and gowns and degrees were soon to be showered upon them.

W.M.W. (1916-1919).

MRS JOHNSON

TO myself I always called her 'The Little Soldier'. She stood so straight, she walked so upright, even with the limp and the stick; she looked you so straight in the eye, a little sharp enquiring gaze, sideways sometimes, but always in the eye, so that

spiritually you stood at salute—or if you didn't you knew something was wrong which you had not till then admitted. She never told me to keep a rule, but I kept them (those rules that matter!), not because I am a law-abiding citizen by nature but because the Principal saw me occasionally and I wanted to be able to return the salute. She never told me to work, but I did, not under coercion but because she assumed, as a matter not requiring discussion between ladies, that one was considerate of other people's feelings and that Oxford was a place designed for work. A tutor was a lady whose natural feelings of disappointment or pleasure had to be taken into consideration. Knowing Mrs Johnson I realized for the first time that institutions and rules were of course a matter of human arrangement, and for our general convenience. American education has not yet grown up enough to realize this; the institution still exists for its own sake.

In 1920, the first year degrees were open to women in Oxford, M. B. and I came, two of a small group of American graduates. People turned in the streets to look at our unfamiliar caps and gowns. This was strange to American students who came from a college where women, in rights undisputed, had worn cap and gown for more than fifty years.

Our first interview with Oxford authority is very vivid in my mind. Like the heroines of Oxford fiction, we arrived in the rain at the Oxford station, and got into an antique hansom cab with a crab-apple face driving it. We did not know the number in South Parks Road, and our first glimpse of Oxford ways was when the cab driver said, 'O yes, Mrs Arthur Johnson'. Everyone knew where Mrs Arthur Johnson lived.

When we stopped, to our great bewilderment there were tall wet, green hedges, and a kindly maid opening the door, instead of the red brick officialdom in buildings, the queues of students, and the 'Office of the Dean', signs of our American youth. To our even greater surprise a charming, pink-cheeked English lady looked up from a table where she was sitting with one other student, and said she was so sorry she was afraid she was engaged, and would we mind waiting a few minutes. As we sat down in comfortable chairs, the kindly maid brought us each a copy of *Punch* to read.

If you have never stood in endless lines for hours waiting your ten official words from a frosty-faced Dean, who gave you a 'card of grades', you will not appreciate our glances to each other over the leaves of *Punch* (between wondering whether people ever laughed at *Punch*!) When our turn came Mrs Johnson very kindly enquired whether we had had a pleasant voyage. (How many lately seasick Americans arrive in Oxford! How Anglo-American relations would improve if the first greeting were always based on an understanding of one's late trials!) Whether we had lived in England before, whether we knew British damp, whether we were dressed for it, the questions went on; yes, it should be recorded in history that one of the first questions asked me by the super-Dean before whom my imagination had quailed on the train from London to Oxford was, 'Are you *sure* you have warm enough woollens?'

By this time our fears had worn away, we were no longer so forlorn and strange, and then suddenly came the question that turned my heart to England and to Oxford for all time. 'What', said Mrs Johnson, 'would you *like* to study?' The shock of this question can only be

appreciated by one who has been educated solely on 'requirements', to whom education meant a grey book called 'curriculum', to whom school had meant a year to year automatic promotion without regard to ability, and college had meant 'required mathematics' without regard to aptitude! I was hardly sure that I still had a personal desire; but she seemed to think so, and I managed to stammer 'English, please, and could I possibly read Keats?' Mrs Johnson seemed to know all about the American student who, having tasted nothing but bottled minerals all her life, finds herself suddenly at the springs of Helicon, because she began to talk of Sir Walter Raleigh (somehow later she put me in his class, but said M. B. must ask his permission, as she was reading history. She was delighted by Sir Walter's reply, which we later reported to her, 'I, for one, know nothing of these partitions among subjects!') The end of this revealing interview was that she would 'look out' a tutor for each of us. We had not heard the word 'dues' in all this time, so at last we asked. 'Oh', Mrs Johnson added, 'there's four pounds to pay', but, as we hadn't the change, she said 'any time convenient', and with that the Deans of our youth vanished into limbo as we entered upon the *vita nova Oxoniensis*.

But, though M. B.'s tutor materialized, mine did not. No one thrust lecture lists into our hands, no one said, 'Go here, go there'. (N.B. 'Schedule' in the American college). Again I called, at the end of two weeks. 'I have been getting a cook', Mrs Johnson explained, 'I am very sorry. Now tell me the latest news about your class with Sir Walter'.

No American Dean could ever possibly need a cook. They dine on curricula and breakfast off schedules

with cream. Now, it is true, we have had, with expanding numbers in the Society, to bring ourselves to offices, and even to waiting lines, but our spirit is not cramped, at heart we are and ever will be, with Mrs Johnson's tradition, ladies even though scholars.

The first impression was typical of the universal contrast between the impersonal mass treatment of students in the American college and the instant personal relationship in which in Oxford each of us found herself, with her tutor, her hostess, and that family, the Society, from whom soon came unfamiliar invitations to 'tea' and 'games'. The British home was part of our 'class room'. Probably purposely Mrs Johnson put us to live with a lady who had five sons scattered about over the British Empire. For the first time we realized what the British Empire was; when the post came in each week from Uganda, China, and India, we began to understand better than any lecture could have taught us what it meant to 'think imperially'. We asked, too, endless small questions of pronunciation, of difference in custom, then and at our common-room tea-parties.

In the common-room we always hoped for a glimpse of Mrs Johnson, and whenever possible for a little story. It was usually a small acute observation, 'Have you ever noticed that——?' (We seldom had.) Had I seen the children at games in St. Olds? And did I know that the games went by seasons? The children were very strict about the seasons, she said; once she had asked a child, 'Where is your hoop, my little man'? He had drawn himself up, and replied very scornfully to her, 'Hoops is out, tops is in'. Fancy being *démodé* in St. Olds!

Had she not as a child seen the Iron Duke ride by? Had she not seen Browning take his honorary degree in the Sheldonian when, as he passed under the gallery, a red cotton night-cap was dropped on his head?

The Society's only anchorage was then at Ship Street, together with other obscure craft. We had yet to prove that we could hoist sail and navigate the fairway without danger to the rest of the shipping! The common-room is to me a conglomerate memory of dark rickety stairs, faded chintz, and lavender cakes which I learned to call mauve. There the American girls met to draw up a resolution, a tribute to Mrs Johnson and the kindness we had so universally received. It was sent to the American Association of University Women asking that representative American graduates should be chosen carefully for Oxford and explaining the types of opportunity open to them. In spite of overcrowded numbers the Society has so welcomed the American girl, so kindly mothered her through many trials of difference, of demand and adaptation, that I recently heard one American girl say to another, 'You are joining Oxford University; I suppose you mean the Society of Oxford Home-Students!' 'Home' in a strange land is not found in many foreign Universities.

Two years later we joined in the tribute, not only of respect but of personal affection, which filled the Sheldonian when our first Principal received her degree. Some of her old students knew what that ceremony meant, some, like her other American students, could only dimly guess the effort that had made the place she had won for us, the place that later generations must fill.

I met her a few months before she died, limping slowly down the street. It was a damp, cold day, and

I said as much. She stopped and leaned on her cane; 'There's a great deal of talk about bad weather that's unnecessary', she said, 'now this is a good sort of day for work, and most days are'.

So I expect that is partly why the Society of Oxford Home-Students stands where it does to-day. It *was* a bad, cold day for an old lady, who was lame, but she looked me through and through and dared me to say so.

K.R. (1920-1922).

THE days of the pioneers must have been stirring times, and those who built and consolidated the Society must have found their labour happy as well as difficult; but perhaps the lot of the present Home-Student is the luckiest of all, for she can reap the benefit of all that has been done by two generations of devoted workers, and yet not lose entirely the old spirit of enterprise, for the Society is peculiarly a body which is constantly and consciously changing and moving onward. The Home-Student of to-day steadily maintains her side of the dispute between the relative merits of her life and that of her friends in the Colleges, delighting in the resemblance between her state of life and that of the earliest scholars of Oxford before the Colleges came into being. She is proud to call herself a Home-Student—though before the uninitiated she will add a hasty definition, for fear of being taken for some sort of out-patient or lay-sister of one of the Colleges, and she still debates endlessly as to a name that shall adequately label the Society, and prevent all such misunderstandings.

Indeed her life is a good one, and meet to be praised. There are long days on the river, when examiners and their works seem far away, evenings at the Playhouse on the creaking wooden chairs, spasmodic spells of over-working, 'crises' when no one is allowed to approach, lectures in college halls, where the remembrance of many bygone dinners hangs in the air, coachings and classes, hockey in the Parks, and unending and delightful Oxford teas over a fire with toasted crumpets and talk.

In any sketch of a Home-Student's life these things bulk large—places, people, and books. Books, of course, are always with us, but nowhere else, nowhere but in Oxford, do they seem to be so thoroughly natives of the place, so natural and inevitable and withal so entrancing; from the moment when one first visits Blackwell's, which is the initiation of the neophyte, to that when first the book-boy at the Bodleian staggers to one's desk with his piled folios.

People are, of course, more important and proportionately more difficult to speak of. Of those who dwell within the horizon of anyone who has come up to Oxford, except her own personal friends, the most important to her are the S.C.R.: and I think that many will agree with me in thinking that the Home-Student to-day is peculiarly blessed in having a Principal and Tutors remarkable above all for this—the full and generous way in which they will allow members of the J.C.R. to be friends as well as subordinates.

It may be a mistaken belief, but I think that in the appreciation of places the Home-Student starts at an advantage. In the Colleges she would be too likely to be engrossed and swallowed up by a vigorous social

life which, though good in its way, is emphatically alien to the spirit of ancient Oxford. The Home-Student, on the other hand, though she may participate in such social life, is more free and unappropriated. She is like one set down in the midst of the City, and left to make what she can of it her own. And the places where the Home-Student spends her short academic life are pleasant places indeed. There is the J.C.R. itself, the centre of the social life of the Society, one of the friendliest spots to be found, so pleasant a room in which to meet one's friends and to sit over coffee and Miss Draper's incomparable cakes, when one ought to be working elsewhere. A pleasant room, too, for dances and parties, not to mention rehearsals or debates, and the sterner, more businesslike meetings of the games' clubs. Then there are the streets of Oxford—St. Giles' and the Broad, Ship Street and the Turl, each one with a fascination of its own to those who see them, not as sight-seers, but as fellow-citizens. Then there are all the walks about Oxford—places that make up so much of life there—along the towpath to the Trout, or downstream to Iffley, up Shotover or Cumnor or Boar's Hill, all the pleasant green places one can spy from the Camera roof, where one mounts sometimes, like a diver coming up for air, in the intervals of concentration. These places, and more lovely ones still—Tom Quad at night, with Mercury and its goldfish asleep, and Old Tom tolling home his hundred ghostly scholars, or the chancel of St. Mary's when day is fading outside, and the lights must be lit—places such as these are a part of life itself, they are home to the mind that remembers them, for it was there that the mind was quickened, and thence that it drew life. So that all who leave

Oxford may return to these places as to their 'native country and own natural homes, and enter unannounced as lords that are certainly expected, and yet there is a silent joy at their arrival'.

C.L.M. (1923-1927).

CHAPTER V

CAREERS

This chapter deals only with students entered before the University granted matriculation and degrees in Michaelmas Term, 1920 (with the exception of Law Students).

DURING this first forty years of the existence of the Society the question of the careers of its students is a particularly interesting one, because they, in common with other University women, were enabled to take part in so many early experiments in education and in the admission of women to other professions. It is, of course, true that the great middle-class Public Schools for girls and the High School system began some quarter of a century earlier. The North London Collegiate School for Girls opened under Miss Buss in 1850; the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, which had started in 1854, appointed Miss Dorothea Beale (Miss Buss's fellow-student at Queen's College, Harley Street) as its head in 1858. Miss Dove (now Dame Frances), who was a teacher at Cheltenham, took up a somewhat independent line of her own at St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews (in 1897); her fellow-teacher, Miss Soulsby, became head of the Oxford High School and later started her own large Church school at Brondesbury.

The Girl's Public Day School Trust started with two London schools in 1873 and Oxford High School in 1875. The Church Schools Company began with schools at Sunderland and in Surbiton in 1884. With the growth of the higher education for women many new

secondary schools for girls were opened, particularly those under Local Education Authorities. The stimulus given by the Education Act of 1870 caused the re-organization of the older Training Colleges for teachers in Elementary Schools and the foundation of new ones to supply the lack of more advanced secondary teaching. Moreover, the newer Universities began to admit women to membership, as London had always done, and required women to look after them, if not yet to act as official lecturers. Women who came to study at the older Universities had very good chances of appointment on one or other of these staffs, and as many older women seized a chance now offered—but which had been denied to their younger years—it was but natural that a fair proportion of them should prefer in Oxford a life rather more independent and more akin to their former custom than would be the life in a residential Hall. Hence many joined what was later known as the Society of Oxford Home-Students, and qualified early for Headships of Schools, Principalships and Lectureships at Training Colleges or Tutorships to women in the Universities. In the first decade (1879–1889) some twenty-two names appear in the register of the Society. This register was not started till 1888, but contains the names of all those at the time reading for examination and of such earlier students as wished to be enrolled. Such a list is evidently not fully inclusive, but probably connotes most of those who devoted themselves to serious study for from one to three years. Nine of them were awarded classes (ranging from First to Third) in University Examinations or in those open to women only. One French student worked for the ‘Agrégation’ of the University of Paris, while L.

Woodcock, who had migrated from Somerville Hall, was the first Oxford woman to read for a medical degree which she afterwards took in London. Some of the others, Americans and foreigners, read for no special examinations. This first group nearly all passed on also to serious work in the world, and a short analysis may prove typically interesting. Of the five who married, the Hon. Isabel Bruce had been Principal of Aberdare College, Cardiff, and Julia Arnold, Headmistress of Prior's Field, Godalming. M. R. Earle became a Lecturer at Newnham College, Cambridge, and afterwards Tutor to women students at Bristol University. One American student, M. Kendall, who took a Second Class here in History Honours, became Professor of History at Wellesley College, U.S.A. Of the remaining English students, one was appointed a headmistress, two, lecturers in a training college, and eight taught in High or Private Schools; one took up literary work and two 'philanthropic' or social work. Many of the beginnings had been made.

The second decade was full of characteristic life and vigour. About one hundred and ninety of those who entered stayed for one year or more. In the three years during which St. Hilda's was under Mrs Johnson's tutelage (before it became St. Hilda's Hall) it accounted for eighteen of them (1893-1896) and St. Kentigern's Hostel for fifteen (1893-1897). News had reached the American Colleges of the opportunities now possible in Oxford for women and six times the number of the first ten years came over. They arrived mostly in small groups, graduates wishing to attend lectures by well-known men and to be placed under a tutor, usually to pursue a course in English literature. At the same time

foreign students increased to about a dozen, half of them working towards examinations in their own country. Only one student apparently came from India; none from the Dominions. It is, of course, less easy to follow the careers of overseas students, but it is known that four of these American students became Professors of English literature at Highland University, Kansas, and at Brynmawr, Wellesley and Wells Colleges. Others became college lecturers, one the headmistress of a school, and others heads of English departments in American schools.

The sense of adventure alive in the Society is noticeable in the number of Englishwomen who then or later sought work overseas. M. Owen (afterwards Mrs Farnham) was appointed to the headship of Victoria School, Barbados; C. J. M. Hubback went to a Training College in Western Australia, and M. Bell to one in Cairo. Assistant mistresses were to be found in Johannesburg and S. Rhodesia, in California and Montevideo; a private tutor took charge of the grandchildren of the Gaekwar of Baroda. M. E. Cousins (Mrs Dexter Allen), who had taken her medical degree in London, went as a medical missionary to Sarawak and after to Singapore; A. D. Sibree, M.B.(Edin.) took charge of government midwives in Hong Kong. Other missionaries were to be found in Mandalay, in India (Ahmednagar, Almora, Nasik) and in Central Africa.

Nor was interesting work at home lacking, and this is often connected with well-known Oxford names. M. H. Ross (Mrs Prichard) went as Classical Lecturer to Westfield College, London, and on her return to Oxford interested herself in social work which will be touched on later, and eventually took the honorary

treasurership of the Association for the Education of Women and of the Society, which she still serves. E. R. Price was a teacher of the Association for the Education of Women, and has recently, in addition to her own research work, acted as an unofficial tutor to students reading for the Diploma in Classical Archaeology. H. Murray proceeded from an English Lectureship at the Royal Holloway College to be Director of Studies in English and Philology at Girton College; eventually Vice-Mistress there, she has been recently appointed a Cambridge University Lecturer in English. R. Sidgwick was holding an Assistant History Lectureship at Birmingham University when her death took place in America as a member of a Universities' mission sent thither at the end of the Great War. O. Rhys has specialized as a teacher in Old French and is now Lecturer to the Society in that subject; she has in recent years examined in French for the University and formerly for the Welsh Board of Education. E. Christopher became Principal of St. Hild's Training College, Durham, a post she still holds. This decade boasts of six headmistresses, among them I. Drummond, who eventually succeeded Miss Buss in the headship of the North London Collegiate School for Girls. Assistant mistress-ships, of course, abounded, not seldom at the Oxford High School. The special interest of the Society in foreign students is represented by E. M. Miller, who acted as Vice-Principal at Norham Hall, a house started for them in Oxford (apart from this Society), where they could have a specially arranged course and examination, while some attended University lectures. This had to close when the War began in 1914, and has not been re-opened. But C. Spurling is carrying on

this international work on a somewhat different scale in London as Warden of Crosby Hall, opened for members of the International Federation of University Women studying in London. That to be a member of the Home-Student body instead of a college is not necessarily a bar to residential work is shown by these instances and by others. E. M. Venables became Vice-Principal of St. Hugh's College; the Wardenship of the Women's University Hostel at Leeds was given to one Home-Student and of the Teachers' Hostel at Salisbury to another.

The note of 'philanthropic work' in Oxford and elsewhere begins to be more frequently sounded in our Reports and our Register. Residence at the University Women's Settlement in Blackfriars is mentioned, and at St. Margaret's House, Bethnal Green; later, E. M. Miller was to become Sub-Warden of the L. M. H. Settlement in Lambeth. 'Political work' first appears, though in what form is not specified.

It was in 1899 that I. Williams began to lay the foundations of a legal career by being the first Home-Student to take the Honour School of Jurisprudence and subsequently the B.C.L. examination (1902). The next year she completed the series of London Law examinations with the LL.D. degree. In January, 1920 (when women were first entitled to become barristers), she joined the Inner Temple,—Sir John Simon being her sponsor. In the Final Bar Examination* she received the Certificate of Honour (1st Class), was excused two terms' dinners and was 'called' to the Bar in May, 1922, thus being the first woman to become a barrister at the

*Another Home-Student, O. Clapham, was actually the first woman to take this Examination.

English Bar. She broke another record by being the first woman to be awarded a D.C.L. degree, other than *honoris causa*, by the University of Oxford (1923). This was given for her work on the new Swiss Civil Code. She has not practised at the Bar, but was appointed Tutor in Jurisprudence to the Society and has had tutorial direction of the law students of the other woman's societies in Oxford. Eight Home-Students since her day have taken Honours in Jurisprudence, four of whom proceeded to the B.C.L. examination. L. Gibbs is our only English barrister on circuit, and she has also assisted in teaching for University examinations. The latest recruit, J. Hendrick (1929), intends to practice at the American Bar. G. Petersen is articulated to a solicitor. Three History students have also taken the solicitors' examinations, and of these C. M. Cruttwell is practising in her father's office. The remaining lawyers have taken up secretaryships, for which usually some knowledge of law is an asset. This seems to point to the conclusion that, apart from special opportunity, there is at present a somewhat limited prospect before women students desiring to take up a legal career. These remarks have involved trespassing on a later stage in the history of the Society than this chapter is meant to deal with, but as law students have not been many, it seemed worth while to treat this phase as a whole.

The policy of inducing as many short-time students as possible to register as Home-Students, in order to bring them under a certain measure of discipline, is fully exemplified in the third decade (1899-1909). About one hundred and twenty-five, out of some three hundred who came on the books, stayed for less than a year, the very large majority of whom were Americans and foreigners,

mostly from Germany, who came for one or two terms only, often as part of their own University course. Yet never were the more serious students more vigorous. Of the six dozen who succeeded in Honours, considerably more than half were placed in the first or second class, including four firsts in History, two each in Science and in German, one in English, one in French before, and one after, 1905, in which year the first examination for the new University Honour School of Modern Languages was held. A few students read for the Pass School; others now began to come up more frequently for a diploma, especially in Geography. This period produced most of our dons. N. E. MacMunn was the first woman to be appointed a Demonstrator (1905, in Geography) by the University; in 1910 A. Chance (Mrs Carleton) was appointed first as Assistant Demonstrator, and in 1927 as a University Demonstrator in the Department of Human Anatomy. R. F. Butler became a History tutor, and, later, Vice-Principal of the Society; C. V. Butler, tutor in Economics, and afterwards Secretary to the University Social Training Course; D. J. L. Poole, a tutor in Classics; and for a time, E. Paxton in German. C. Ballard and M. Segar taught for the A.E.W.

The newly-formed Convent of the Holy Child Jesus, established in the historian Froude's old house of Cherwell Edge, brought to Oxford as members of the Society a number of Roman Catholic nun-students. Among the nuns were four successive Superiors of the Convent, who were also appointed Vice-Principals of the Society at Cherwell Edge till that office ceased in 1926. Of these M. I. Atchison was also History tutor to the Society and to the A.E.W. and afterwards rose

to the very important position of Mother-General of the Order of the Holy Child Jesus, with her headquarters in Rome. Most of the Oxford nuns were afterwards employed as heads or assistants in the training college and schools of the Order in England, and occasionally in its University colleges in the United States or on the continent of Europe. Some eight other Home-Students of this time went as lecturers to Whitelands and other training colleges, and eleven as headmistresses to varying types of schools, including the Francis Holland High School in London, the Victoria May School in Lahore, the Oxford Central School, and the Loughborough Elementary School. H. K. Garrett became Mistress-in-charge of the Magdalen Boys' Preparatory School at Brackley. Over fifty became assistant mistresses, and the exodus to all parts of the world, mainly to India and the Dominions, continued, perhaps the most interesting appointment being that of D. C. O. de la Hey to the Principalship of the Madras College for Women. One American student, F. M. Snell, went to South Africa to become Professor of English in the Huguenot College at Wellington, Cape Colony, while several took similar headships of departments in the United States. Only three missionaries are recorded, Dr. E. C. Cousins and M. Rylance in India, and K. Nixon-Smith with the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Some of the numerous married students also made homes abroad, M. S. McFie (Mrs Dimitrijevie) striking out a new line by settling in Serbia after the War. A new profession for women was inaugurated, so far as the Society was concerned, by G. von Petzold, who, after study and examinations taken at Manchester College, Oxford, was appointed

Pastor of the Free Christian Church at Birmingham.

Nor was this the only new venture. Past students began to take up secretarial work. In due time, H. Matheson became secretary to the first woman M.P., Lady Astor, in her Parliamentary work, and later still she was appointed a Director on the educational side of the British Broadcasting Co., a position which she still holds. Journalism is first mentioned, and one member, M. S. Jackson, actually became a publisher. With the subject of books, the account of this period returns to the natural concern of University people, and it is encouraging to note that writing and research precede the era of Certificates of Letters and of B.Litt. degrees. It was the time when most young history dons began writing articles for the Victoria County Histories, and R. F. Butler, N. E. MacMunn, M. Spencer, D. Vidal, M. A. Wills-Sandford were among them. To mention a few others, I. Plunket also wrote 'Isabel of Castile' and several educational history books. N. E. MacMunn brought out a book on 'The Upper Thames Country' and also collaborated with G. Coster in a Regional Geography of Europe, and F. M. Comper studied and wrote upon the mystics of the fourteenth century.

The last period to be dealt with in this volume (1909-1920) carries our history up to the time of the granting of degrees to women by the University of Oxford. It contains, too, within itself, the four years of the Great War (1914-1918) and its aftermath. A special chapter is devoted to the war activities of Home-Students, but apart from these, different elements of the ebb and flow of work claim notice. Though this is a slightly longer period, fewer Americans—only sixteen—came for a year

or more; they diminished, very naturally, in the later years of the war, but five came in or after 1916, one of whom became head of the 'Public-Speaking Department' of a State Normal School in Minnesota, and another Professor of German in Wilson College, Pennsylvania. If the United States sent fewer students, women from India and the Dominions began to be more attracted to an Oxford course, and this has continued, especially perhaps in the case of South Africa, whence came six in this period. One came over with a Cape University Scholarship in 1912 and another with a Union Government Scholarship in 1914. At the same time, G. Derham, M.A., Melbourne, was sent with a 'Classical and Shakespeare Scholarship' from her University, returned to Melbourne to become a University lecturer and examiner, and in 1927 came back to Oxford for a year's work in Old French and in English, as a Special Student. She had been preceded by M. J. Baker, another M.A. and scholar from Melbourne, who returned as lecturer in Wellington University, New Zealand, which in its turn sent at least one student. Canada sent two, one of whom, G. Coster, remained in Oxford after taking her B.Litt. degree, and has become co-principal of Wychwood School. Three came from India, of whom one, E. Gloria (Mrs Uffold), took Honours in Physiology, and was appointed lecturer in that subject at the Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi. She returned after the war to complete her residence for her Oxford degree. For the first time, too, we were able to welcome students from the West Indies.

Foreigners came over in much greater numbers (thirty-five) to stay a reasonable length of time. Before the war Germans had predominated, but now French

girls outstripped them, together with Russians driven out of their own country. Only two Belgians seem to have seized this opportunity, but Scandinavians began to increase; two students came from Holland, and one from Italy. The international intercourse which had prevailed for some years continued to have its effect on English students; four took posts in the United States and one in the Bahamas. Among them M. B. Crook, who had taken a First Class in Philosophy at London University, and a Diploma in Anthropology (with distinction) at Oxford, besides reading for the ministry at Manchester College, became a Unitarian pastor first in Norwich and then in the United States, after which she was appointed Professor in Divinity at Smith College, Northampton (Mass.). L. Biden took the headship of St. Michael's School, Bloemfontein, and three other educational posts were filled by Home-Students in South Africa. K. Myers joined D. de la Hey at the Madras College for Women as English Lecturer.

A greater degree of movement also made itself felt in University and college posts in England, partly, but not wholly, owing to the departure of men to the war. One addition was indeed made to the Home-Student staff by the appointment of D. O. Taylor (Mother M. Dominica) as English tutor, residing at Cherwell Edge. E. Almond went as Classical lecturer to Westfield College (subsequently becoming headmistress of St. Brandon's, Bristol). Two Geography lecturers went to Bedford College, London, one to Reading, and another to Nottingham, University College. One was appointed temporarily as lecturer in Modern Languages at Armstrong College, Newcastle, while assistant lecturers went to Edinburgh and Manchester. The number of

headmistress-ships declined, but that of assistant mistress-ships increased, and for the first time three students of this period were appointed to housemistress-ships in Oxford, Sherborne, and Winchester. The number of Roman Catholic nuns increased to twenty-five, and two students entered Anglican communities.

The attractions of a secretarial career continued: the list included two students who took life insurance work and also the first Home-Student (C. Harris) to be employed in work for the League of Nations in Geneva. W. Gibson became secretary to the University Registrar, and M. Jenkin to the Bursar of St. John's College.

It is often difficult to distinguish between secretarial and social work, and with the increase of interest in the Economics Diploma more students were turning to various forms of modern social work and research. One secretary took up juvenile work at a Labour Exchange and another worked under an Inspector of District Nurses. Two others investigated for the Industrial Fatigue Board and in Rural Industries for the Board of Agriculture. E. Purdon became Warden of the Women's Settlement at Leeds; another student won the Pfeiffer Scholarship at the University Settlement in London; others took up Y.M.C.A. work, rescue work, Care Committees, and school nursing. In Oxford Mrs Prichard, with two college women, Mrs Wells (L.M.H.) and Mrs Fisher (S.C.) organized the movement in Infant Welfare and, by the startling rate of decrease in infant mortality, made Oxford a model community in this respect. A great deal of the social work done in Oxford was to be associated with her name both in wartime and after degrees had been given to women, when she was made one of the University



MISS C. M. E. BURROWS
1929

representatives on the City Council. F. Quick was another City Councillor for some years, and has devoted herself especially to the work of a Guardian and to the care of children under the Local War Pensions Committee. The interest taken by the first Principal in her Guardian's work at Headington and in Oxford was a great inspiration and makes this particular branch of social work a peculiarly appropriate one for Home-Students.

Librarianship is one of the new careers taken up in this period, and it is natural that this should be especially associated with Oxford. E. Miller was in charge of the Napier Memorial Library, H. Adair of the Fine Arts Library at the Ashmolean, and L. Mackintosh and Mrs Hiley of the Economics Library at Barnett House, while one or two students have been attached to the Bodleian. These librarians were trained by practice; it was not till later that our students attended organized courses in librarian's work.

The war brought a vividly renewed interest in Medical and in Pure Science. The last was represented among Home-Students by M. W. Porter, who after taking a Science Research Certificate and later the corresponding degree of B.Sc. in Mineralogy, was elected into the Countess of Carlisle Research Fellowship at Somerville College, and proceeded to make a special branch of mineralogy her own. She received a grant from the Committee of the Privy Council for Scientific Research and has been made a member of the Council for Mineralogical Studies.

A medical career had been almost entirely neglected in the previous decade, but the two first classes in Physiology awarded to C. Ottley (who took both the

Gilchrist Scholarship and Studentship) and to Mrs Eastwood began to make up for it. E. Guest received a London doctorate and R. D. Fox read for a London M.B. F. Petersen abandoned Physiology for the stage, but D. Collier, C. Ottley, and Mrs Eastwood all took the Oxford M.B. degree. D. Collier was, indeed, the first woman to begin reading for the Oxford Medical Course, though owing to a year's delay she was joined by a Somerville student in the first examination; she has become Registrar of University College Hospital, London, with a good private practice. C. Ottley became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and has settled down to a practice in Brighton. Mrs Eastwood was appointed assistant physician to the South London Women's Hospital, and in 1926 was the first woman to be awarded the Oxford degree of Doctor of Medicine. The good start thus given was followed efficiently, if not so brilliantly, in the succeeding period, and indeed medical work has been a special feature of Home-Student life. At the time of going to press a second Doctorate of Medicine at Oxford has been added by B. Harding.

The main lines of the pattern seem to have been drawn, except that of the Civil Service. And the door into commerce and industry had not yet been opened by 1920; will Home-Students ever follow Professor Caroline Spurgeon's exhortations to the International Federation of University Women, and shine in high finance? Perhaps some things—many careers—inconceivable to us at present lie behind the veil of the future. The example of our elder members should encourage pioneering, but *'fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra'*.

C.M.E.B.

A History of
SAINT ANNE'S SOCIETY

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SAINT ANNE'S SOCIETY

formerly

THE SOCIETY OF OXFORD HOME-STUDENTS

VOL. II (1921-1946)

BY

RUTH F. BUTLER

'Prosper Thou the work of our hands upon us'

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PREFACE

THIS small volume is a continuation of an earlier history,¹ privately printed in 1930, which told the tale of the origin of our Society and its growth to full membership of the University. That story, complete in itself, was, in truth, the history of Mrs. Johnson; it therefore required a short 'Epilogue', which described the events immediately following her retirement, and her personal influence on the Society up to her death in 1927. It has seemed best to leave that volume intact. The first chapter of this supplement cannot therefore avoid some slight repetition, if justice is to be done to the period of 1921-9, when Miss Burrows was Principal.

The quarter of a century covered by this second volume is an epoch of immense growth in the position of women in the world as a whole, and not less in Oxford and her colleges. The change in the title of our Society² epitomizes its development from a loosely organized association of students, many of them living at home, to a semi-collegiate body possessing buildings of its own, and a certainty of more to come. It is a change which spells progress, but which rouses some nostalgia in those who, loving the name Home-Students, wonder if the system for which it stood is extinct irretrievably. The English home is at present tarnished with the claims of the sink and the dust-pan; the spaciousness of Victorian houses has become a burden; when adjustment to a simpler mode of life has been made, may not the home once more be a sanctuary not only to its natural inmates, but to others who prefer it to life in a

¹ *The Society of Oxford Home-Students: Retrospects and Recollections*, ed. by M. H. Prichard and R. F. Butler (referred to in these pages as 'vol. i').

² The title 'St. Anne's' is not used in these pages till the date of its adoption (1942).

larger community? This generation cannot tell, but that the power to grow is the only true test of vitality must be clear to every age—to founders and to those who carry on their work.

They built not for a perishable home
Who thus could build.

To return to the book and its sources: the opinions expressed throughout are my own and in no sense 'official'; much of the material is drawn from my own recollection, a good deal from private hoards of letters, especially from the shower of correspondence in which Miss Rogers used to clarify her ideas. My warmest thanks are due to many friends and old members of the Society who have helped me with their personal memories and suggestions—above all to Miss Burrows for her invaluable help in Chapter I, to the Principal and Vice-Principal for their indispensable contributions to Chapter III, to Mrs. Prichard, to whom almost the whole of Appendix II is due, to the authors of the refreshing 'Undergraduate Memories', and to my sister Violet, whose part in the Society as student and tutor is inseparably connected with my own.

I am most grateful to the Principal and Delegates of St. Anne's Society for permission to consult the minutes of Delegacy meetings and of other committees, as well as correspondence files in their possession—notably letters to and from Miss Hadow about the Benefaction; also to the Registrar of the University for permission to quote from documents that passed between the Delegates and the Hebdomadal Council; to St. Anne's tutors for leave to consult records of Tutors' Meetings, and to Miss Woodcock and Miss Banbury, who have patiently aided my researches in our office. Among printed sources I have made constant use of the Annual

Reports of the Delegates, and of the *Ship* (the Old Students' publication), and I owe much to *Degrees by Degrees*, by the late Miss Rogers, and *Grace Hadow*, by Miss H. C. Deneke.

Finally, I must record my gratitude to the anonymous 'Old Student' who has financed the first stages of this enterprise, and to Sir David Ross, sometime Provost of Oriel and Chairman of our Delegation, who encouraged me to undertake it, and smoothed my path with the University Press; also to Mr. H. M. Margoliouth, Fellow of Oriel, late Secretary of Faculties, who has read the whole in manuscript and given me the valuable help and criticism which he is peculiarly qualified to give by his long experience as a University official and as a Delegate of St. Anne's.

It is pleasant to conclude this list of the friends who have helped me on my way with a reference to the College of which my father was fifty years a Fellow, and which owned my earliest allegiance, and to remember at the same time a connexion between the patrons of the two Societies; for does not one famous writer declare the tomb of Adam de Brome, founder of Oriel, to lie within the confines of what was once the Chapel of *Saint Anne*, in the University Church?¹

R. F. B.

¹ *Hearne's Collections*, ix. 374, ed. Salter (Oxf. Hist. Soc.).

Note.—This history is intended to include the year 1946.

The Appendices cover the period up to 1948.

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I

1921-9

MISS BURROWS, PRINCIPAL

WHEN Miss Christine Burrows, in Trinity Term 1921, succeeded Mrs. Johnson as Principal of the Home-Students, she inherited from her predecessor a Society with a character and tradition of its own; a Society, one must admit, that was stronger in spirit than outward form. It was said of Mrs. Johnson—as is so often said of the dominating personality in any school or college—that she ‘*was* the Society’; in this case the affectionate claim was almost literally true.

There was hardly any framework to the Society; it was a benevolent autocracy, of a vivid and somewhat unconventional type. Almost everything had been transacted in the Principal’s house; her interviews with tutors and with students; and all correspondence with and about them. We had no real office of our own, though much of the formal business was transacted through the office of the Association for the Education of Women¹ in the Clarendon Building. Mrs. Johnson had entire control of the admission of students, and of their allocation to tutors. Administratively, the Society was subject to dual control, by the Association for the Education of Women (the ‘A.E.W.’) and by the Delegacy for Women Students.² The former body received and forwarded all entries for college lectures, and recorded tutorial arrangements, collecting fees, and making payments to tutors; the latter appointed the Committee which served as Governing Body of the Society, and received its annual report. The

¹ See vol. i, pp. 9-11.

² Ibid., pp. 69-77.

Delegates were also responsible for keeping records of examinations passed. They had, moreover, in fulfilment of their statutory obligation, just effected the appointment of the new Principal, on the recommendation of a sub-committee containing (let it be noted!) *two* members of the Home-Students Governing Body.

The stage was already set for many fundamental changes. Full University recognition, under the Women's Statute (Titulus xxiii) of 1920, not only raised the status of the Society but, of necessity, involved fuller University control. This was to be carried out in strictly constitutional fashion. Already a proposal for a special Delegacy for Home-Students had been mooted. The Delegacy for Women Students, acting as an intermediary between the University and the five Societies, had become redundant under the new Statute. It was brought to an end, and in Michaelmas Term 1921 our Society was provided with a new Governing Body. The Delegacy for Home-Students was composed of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, the Principal, the Controller of Lodgings, two members appointed by Congregation, two by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, two by the Hebdomadal Council, and four co-opted members. The first list of Delegates contained a total of nine men and six women, of whom four were officers of the Society (one of these—the Vice-Principal—being also a tutor).

This new system, analogous to that by which the Non-Collegiate students were governed, gave the Society a firmly integrated position in the University. For the first time it was to be administered by a body of men and women almost all of whom were specially appointed to study its interests and progress, instead of by a sub-committee of a larger body necessarily concerned with the interests of all five Societies. The official members — Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and Con-

troller—did not, of course, fall into this category, but their presence added dignity and distinction, and brought valuable knowledge and statesmanship to discussions. The recurrent changes, due to the proctorial cycle, were in one way regrettable, but many of the Proctors became our firm friends during their year of office and were willing to serve again as Delegates at a later date. The lack of direct representation of the teaching staff was a more serious disadvantage, but, as will be shown later, no one had yet thought of our tutors as entitled to any powers or responsibilities other than in relation to their pupils.

Who were to be our leaders in this new period of reconstruction?

First there was Professor Geldart¹—pilot of the Women's Statute in 1920—who had been Chairman of our Governing Body during the important period of transition 1911-21. To our great loss his death took place in Jamaica in the spring of 1922. As recorded in the 'Annual Report' of the Society for 1922, 'He took an unfailing interest as well in the details as in the broader aspects of the development of its work. He was a loyal friend to the Society, and by his wisdom, judgement and patience, secured and strengthened the position it holds in the University.' There were also our two 'elder statesmen' and officers, Miss Rogers and Mrs. Prichard.² Annie Rogers had an unrivalled knowledge not only of the women's movement in Oxford, and of our own Society (having been on its Governing Body since its inception in 1879), but also of University law and organization. She had a firm grasp of the relations between colleges and University, and a clear conception of the position which our Society ought to attain. The status which it had already achieved had been largely due to

¹ William Martin Geldart, Fellow of All Souls College, Vinerian Professor of English Law 1909-22. See vol. i, p. 89.

² See vol. i, p. 64.

Mrs. Johnson,¹ but also to the good work of the students themselves, and to the number of students, present and past, who were daughters, sisters, or wives of members of the University. The new system of government had, as said above, disadvantages as well as advantages; but Miss Rogers's policy—unwaveringly and, may we say, relentlessly—pursued, was to make use of this semi-dependent status, in order to press upon the University its responsibilities to the Society.

She acted as Secretary to the Delegates from 1921 to 1930, and as she notes in one minute-book, 'attended every meeting'. From the first she urged the need to reorganize the finance of the Society. This work was ably carried out by our Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Prichard, who combined a long acquaintance with our financial requirements with a close and affectionate knowledge of the Society from within. She had been a Home-Student herself (taking a First Class in 'Greats' in 1898) and had served on the A.E.W. and the Home-Students' Committee for many years.

Finally there was our new Principal, Miss Burrows, who had come to us with an experience almost unique in Oxford. Not only had she been a student at two Halls—first at Lady Margaret Hall, then at St. Hilda's, when her mother was appointed Principal of this youngest of the Women's Societies—but she had also had long and varied experience there as Vice-Principal, History Tutor, and finally Principal (1910-19). As already explained, for the first few years of its existence St. Hilda's ranked technically as a section of the Society of Oxford Home-Students.² This fact had given Miss Burrows an intimate knowledge of our Society and of Mrs. Johnson's ideals and methods. It was indeed a piece of good fortune that the private claims upon her time and strength which had obliged her to resign her office at St. Hilda's were

¹ Vol. i, p. 72, and *passim*.

² Vol. i, p. 66.

not incompatible with the Headship of the Home-Students, and that the Society secured so wise and conservative a reformer during the period of necessary reconstruction.

First in her mind, it is probable, came the students, and next, tutors and teachers. As said already,¹ while the Society, still comparatively small, was expected to shelter and discipline the better of the 'short-time' students—English or foreign—who sought for special courses at Oxford, a system of admission by interview and correspondence had sufficed. Mrs. Johnson's nearly forty years' experience had given her a fine flair for such selection, but even she could not avoid a few mistakes in administering this policy of inclusion; now that numbers were nearing 200, it was obvious that the Society must suffer both in credit and in usefulness unless some stricter form of admission were introduced. Miss Burrows was asked at the very outset of her career to consider the institution of an Entrance Examination, and it was one of the first subjects she discussed with the tutorial staff. The first examination tests were imposed on the entrants of 1921, and in 1922 'conditions of admission' to the Society of Oxford Home-Students were published in the *University Gazette*. This was in accordance with the statutory duty, laid upon the Delegates at their appointment in 1921, of 'framing and publishing regulations for the admission of students', with power 'to remove names for idleness, misconduct or failure to pass examinations'. 'The standard of the entrance examination' (so runs the 'Annual Report' for the year 1922), 'which is intended to ascertain whether the candidates are fitted to read for Honours or a Diploma, has been raised. The only women admitted to read for a purely Pass Course are those whose homes are in Oxford, or who are professionally employed there.' (The objects of this clause were (1) to avoid

¹ Vol. i, pp. 76, 133.

any possible injustice to the category of students from whom our origin and title were derived, and (2) to help non-graduate school-mistresses to obtain degrees while teaching in Oxford. A few did this with success.)

'The Delegates are aware', this Report continues, 'that there is a great demand among women for University education, which is very inadequately supplied, but they think it essential carefully to control the increase of the Society, and to ensure, so far as is possible, that only such candidates are admitted or *retained* on the books as are really able to profit by residence in Oxford.'

The last clause refers to the (very mild) rules of superannuation which had just been drawn up, after much discussion by the Delegates and consultation of the tutors. It was a good many years before these could be very strictly enforced, for it took some time for the exact implications of the full Degree Course to be realized outside Oxford. It is true that the University had recently abolished the regulations demanding *two* classical languages in Responsions or the equivalent. Latin was better taught in girls' schools than Greek; but even so a good many students who were well able to reach a good Honours standard in their Finals found the Latin of Pass Moderations or History Preliminary a serious obstacle. Some Head Mistresses were unnecessarily vague as to the requirements for the Degree Course, and even our own staff were sometimes puzzled by the intricacies of the alternatives to Responsions. There was a famous case of a Home-Student, who had been accepted and come into residence, before a flaw in her 'exemption' was discovered. On learning that she could not be matriculated, she sat down, undaunted, to learn the Greek alphabet, and—having been allowed to remain in Oxford, and begin work, though not technically an undergraduate—she triumphantly passed at the end of eight weeks

in Greek in Responsions. The fact that this was possible for an average, very determined girl, throws an interesting light on this particular wicket-gate into Oxford. About this time a challenge from Miss Rogers evoked from a skilled limerick-writer, the Rev. Charles Inge, the following lines on a statement by the University Registry: 'An exemption from an exemption is not an exemption.'

There was a Home-Student who dreamt
That she from exams was exempt.
But all she had earned
By all she had learned
Was exemption from being exempt.

Not unmindful of a hint from Council, the Delegates in 1922 limited the number of Home-Students to 230, and in the following year to 220. The press into Oxford almost immediately made admission to the Society competitive, though not to the same extent as in the other Societies, which were necessarily limited as to 'housing capacity'. The resident colleges, too, had many and obvious attractions, especially for the younger student, and were much better equipped as to scholarships and prizes. Our Society had at this juncture only three scholarships to offer: the Gilchrist, of the value of £25 for two years; the Bertha Johnson, just founded in honour of Mrs. Johnson, of the value of £30 per annum (gradually raised by further donations to £50 by 1940), and the Ethel Simon,¹ presented at the first meeting of the new Delegacy. In 1923 two prizes¹ were founded, the 'Hilda Ainley Walker' and the 'Goodwin'.

For this work of entrance and scholarship examination, as well as for the teaching of the increased number of students, development of tutorial staff and the initiation of some office organization were clearly needful. Miss Burrows inherited

¹ Vol. i, p. 142.

what appeared on paper a fairly large staff of tutors—two in Classics, two in History, two in English, one each in Economics, Geography, and Law. But these tutors were, some of them, only ‘part-time’¹ and had all (till its abolition in 1921) been also tutors to the ‘A.E.W.’, sometimes taking pupils from the colleges; our Law Tutor, Miss Ivy Williams, and our Geography Tutor (Miss MacMunn, the first woman ‘Demonstrator’) ‘tutored’ the women of all five societies in these subjects. On the other hand, our students shared the services of the one woman Science Tutor, Miss Jane Kirkaldy; and our Modern Language students were almost all ‘tutored’ by Miss Pope,² a brilliant Somerville don. The traditional system of intercollegiate tutoring was, however, felt to be becoming obsolete, as each college found itself more and more absorbed in the teaching of its own students. The Principal, supported by the Delegates, therefore set to work to build up a stronger tutorial staff, with definite duties and privileges.

Of the History and English tutors, one each had been appointed at the request of Cherwell Edge (the hostel managed by the Order of the Holy Child), and for the teaching of Cherwell Edge students only. Very soon these two tutors were invited by the Principal to undertake other than Roman Catholic students. For a time it was the custom to ask for the acquiescence in such cases of parents of students, but before long no differentiation was made.

The senior History Tutor, being also Vice-Principal, could only give part-time to teaching, and a third History Tutor was appointed in 1922—Miss B. A. Lees,³ succeeded in 1924

¹ Miss Lee achieved the feat of teaching at King’s College, London, and at Reading University, and also of founding a girls’ school in Oxford, together with her Oxford tutorship.

² M. K. Pope, Dr. Univ. Paris; later Professor of Romance Philology, Manchester University.

³ Formerly History Tutor at Somerville College (see Appendix).

by Miss C. M. Ady.¹ Our first Modern Language Tutor was also appointed, Miss M. C. G. Hugon, who served the students of the Society unwearyingly from that date (1922) till her retirement in 1947.

Under the previous dispensation, tutors had no fixed stipend, receiving only the fees of their pupils, and had no definite claim to any particular number of the latter. Neither (I believe) had they any security of tenure—there being no rules as to appointment or dismissal. The development of the tutorial system was thus closely dependent upon finance (the general principles of which are indicated in an Appendix).²

Tutors had not had much opportunity for acquiring any corporate feeling or strength. They had occasional 'Senior Common Room meetings' in a tiny room in the old house in Ship Street—a room which they had furnished at their own expense. The new Principal was not long in starting regular Tutors' Meetings; these at once proved their value as channels for information from the Principal or the Secretary (Miss Rogers) as to the policy of the Delegates, or as to University regulations about residence and discipline; they were also concerned with the entrance examination, and with framing of details about superannuation, and provided a good opportunity for discussion.

In May 1926 the meeting was recognized by the Delegates and given powers and duties by a by-law. The Vice-Principal's duties—hitherto nebulous if voluminous—were defined at the same date, and she received the further titles of Senior Tutor and Dean of Degrees.

In October 1925 the Principal and tutors gave an evening 'At Home' in the Masonic Hall, entertaining some 300 guests.

¹ Formerly History Tutor at St. Hugh's College (see Appendix).

² Appendix II.

The occasion was honoured by the presence of the Vice-Chancellor, and thus involved the wearing of academic *plus* evening dress—a convention which caused some heart-searchings in the far-off days when we still had silken apparel which we were loath to hide beneath a gown.

In this year women Masters of Arts for the first time took their share in the election of the Chancellor of the University—an impressive ceremony which took place in the Sheldonian, where Home-Students could proudly watch one of their most recent M.A.s, Miss Gibson, assisting the Registrar in the discharge of his office.

More important, perhaps, than this formal or ceremonial evolution, were the less immediately sensible effects of actual membership of the University: the membership of Faculties, the power to vote in Congregation and the consequent necessity to study the 'Statutes' and the *University Gazette*. It must be difficult for the modern tutor to realize the striking character of this change. Hitherto women had taken no part in framing the studies for which they prepared their pupils, nor in the valuable experience of examining, nor in the planning, nor (except in a few instances) the giving, of lectures. Some Boards of Faculties were more co-operative than others with their new members. In English and in Modern Languages, women tutors soon made their influence felt; in other subjects—notably in Modern History—they were less sure of a welcome. The meetings of the History Faculty were at that time—despite the vigorous chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Johnson—singularly lifeless, the real discussion and decisions being carried on at a 'History Association' dinner, from which women were excluded. But before long a place on the History Board was found for one woman—a Home-Student tutor; another of our tutors was invited in 1926 to examine in the History Group—to the horror of a few of the young men,

who obviously resented being 'viva'd' by a woman. This masculine aloofness was less visible in attendance at women's lectures—undergraduates judging them, as they did those of men, purely by their 'usefulness' in Schools or by their other excellences. This lecturing was a novel experience, welcomed by most tutors, who were glad, among other reasons, to contribute their share to the intercollegiate scheme of lectures. Slowly came the realization that we really *were* members of the University, and need feel no self-consciousness about our position or our gowns.

Before we turn to the students and show how they adapted themselves to the new era, we must describe an event of inestimable value both to them and to their seniors. The beloved Ship Street Common Room¹—with its aged joists and lath-and-plaster walls—was neither adequate nor indeed safe for large numbers of students. And this matter of numbers made it quite impossible to continue the practice by which the Principal provided an office in her own house. A happy resting-place was found in Holywell House, purchased by the University with the windfall received in 1921 from the large numbers of women who claimed their degrees, and paid degree and matriculation fees and 'back dues'.² Application for rooms was made by the Delegates, and after a Long Vacation had been nearly consumed in discussion and weighing of rival claims, our Society found itself in Michaelmas Term 1921 sharing with the School of Geography the famous stone creation nicknamed 'the Meum' by an earlier generation of undergraduates. Not only were the back regions and kitchen, and the former bedrooms over them, allotted to us for offices and for kitchen, but the 'J.C.R.' became the proud possessors of the large Music Room, in which Joachim and

¹ Vol. i, facing p. 120.

² A. M. A. H. Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp. 121-2.

other musical notabilities had once performed. Moreover, the Nettleship Library, of which more must be written later, was accommodated in two good rooms and a corridor (to secure which needed almost a battle royal) instead of in the attics at the top of the Clarendon Building. The two lecture rooms in this building—originally equipped by the A.E.W. at its own expense—were allotted to our Society, which used them as class-rooms. (It was felt that the man undergraduate's zeal for lectures (*women's* lectures) would never carry him up the 72 steps which had tested the breath and braced the muscles of generations of girl pioneers; and our lectures were accordingly delivered in rooms provided by the Taylorian or the 'Schools'—or occasionally, in the earliest terms, in a room generously lent by one of the men's colleges.)

This half of Holywell House—known as 'One Jowett Walk'—provided us not only with a Junior Common Room, and kitchen adjoining, and a 'quiet room' for writing—but also upstairs a Secretary's and Treasurer's office, Principal's room, and Tutors' room (shared with the Vice-Principal who used it as her office). There was also a charming garden, of which a record exists in the now discarded book-plate designed by Leslie Brook. We were thus, for the first time, self-contained, except that none of our rooms could accommodate the whole 220 students. For the terminal meeting (in those days concluded by tea!) the Curators of the Schools kindly provided a room—usually the 'East School'.

Inspired by their new privileges and new surroundings, the 'undergraduettes'—as they were jokingly dubbed by mankind—went on their way rejoicing. The Home-Student of the early nineteen-twenties seems to those who remember her a happy and simple young person. Something of the glory of the pioneer still hung about her. The eyes of England were upon her! and newspapers delighted to portray her in cap and

gown. Great was the enthusiasm for those long-coveted insignia. Report declared them to have been seen on one or two zealots on the towing-path in the afternoon. Even dons wore their gowns with greater assiduity than at the present day, and their style of dress and coiffure in academic costume was, we believe, searchingly criticized by their juniors. Seniors in their turn stressed the obligation of full observance of University etiquette; one student was so impressed with the traditional reverence due to the Vice-Chancellor, that finding herself in one of Oxford's narrow lanes, with the great man and his bedel approaching, she sprang from her bicycle to make a respectful bow, duly returned by the (probably) amused Vice-Chancellor. There was even a secret emulation between Deans of Degrees as to who could turn out the best drilled and equipped set of matriculation and degree candidates. The long files of women matriculands, marching down Holywell or the Parks, headed by a 'Dean' with her bundle of papers became a familiar sight in Oxford; and careful rehearsals of the degree ceremony took place in the Junior Common Room at Jowett Walk on each Degree Day. It took many years to lessen this thrill, which, indeed, must always be renewed to some extent for those who return for the occasion attended by relations and friends; but for the first few years there was a special flavour about those events, as students of the old dispensation—many of them occupying useful and important public posts—returned to receive their long-awaited reward.

Some of these—as already related¹—had actually to fill in 'degree course' examinations which they had omitted under the less strict régime of the past. Six years were allowed for these heroines—first to learn what additional qualifications 'Alma Mater' required, and secondly to find time to acquire

¹ Vol. i, pp. 92-3.

them. Odd incidents occur to one's memory. There was the distinguished old student, also an officer of the Society, who discovered she had omitted 'Divinity' on her way to her First, and so could not take her degree. 'I don't think my husband would like me to be seen taking "Divvers"', she pondered meditatively, 'but I think there is some old School Certificate in my drawer.' It turned out to be a Senior Local distinction in 'Scripture' and the holder passed in one leap through the stages of undergraduate and Bachelor and Master of Arts, to become—and remain to this day—one of our most indispensable Delegates.

Miss Grace Hadow—our Principal later—had humorous memories of her own *viva* in the same dread examination. Nor will the office staff forget the day when one of their lecturers in Modern Languages walked in to ask for a peep at the Examination Statutes. 'I am taking B 2 to-morrow, and I may as well know what *are* the set Books.'

In 1926 grace expired for matriculation of old students, and the *Ship* records: 'We think proudly of the sixty who, amid the pressure of family and professional claims, have availed themselves of the opportunity and completed the examinations for the degree. Their number includes at least one University examiner, and one University lecturer, besides mothers of families.'¹

Only one section of this 'Old Guard' received rather too severe treatment, those who had taken the special examinations for women. These consisted of First and Second Pass Examinations, corresponding to Responsions and to Pass Groups (opened to women in 1886 and 1894 respectively) and of Honour Examinations in English and in Modern Languages, at a time when there were no such Schools for men. When the University instituted the Final Honour

¹ Vice-Principal, in the *Ship*, No. 16, p. 23.

Schools of English (1894) and Modern Languages (1904), it threw them open to women, and the special Women's Examinations came to an end. Though these examinations had been planned and conducted by members of the University, and were published in the *Gazette* under the title 'University Examinations for Women', the University nevertheless refused to accept them as a qualification for the degree, when this was opened to women. Thus the lecturer mentioned above—Miss Olwen Rhys—who had taken a First in the University Examination for Women in 1901, and had been teaching Oxford students ever since, was obliged to take a complete course of Pass Degree Examinations in order to obtain her B.A. and M.A. Another old student, Miss Hilda Murray, had taken a First in the Honour English School in 1899, preceded by two 'Pass Examinations for Women' in French and German and a Second Class in Women's Modern Languages in 1896. Not all the support of her two Societies (Miss Murray was Philology Lecturer at Girton College) would induce our University to consider her exempt from the First Public Examination, and she was obliged to take Groups B 2 and B 5. She received her degrees of B.A. and M.A. in time to be incorporated at Cambridge (which had just granted titular degrees to women) and to be appointed to a University Lecturership in that University (1926).

Oxford had opened her doors generously; one still regrets that the doors were not a few inches wider.

To return to our 'undergraduettes'. They played their part with energy and enjoyment, and, like every other generation of students, were no doubt mainly occupied with their own affairs. They shared, to a high extent, the perennial belief that they, for the first time, were lifting the Society from obscurity. It was the hey-day period of women's athletics, not so much (to modern ideas) in achievement

perhaps as in enthusiasm. Both those who took part and those who looked on did so with something of the keenness of the public schoolboy. With so large an increase in numbers, and particularly in those who came straight from school, it was literally true that for the first time Home-Students had an equal chance in intercollegiate contests. In 1925, when Oxford beat Cambridge women at Lacrosse, the captain of the team was a Home-Student, and the Cup graced our Junior Common Room for that year. We had four Lacrosse 'blues' and one Hockey 'blue' at that time. The same date saw the beginning of rowing, and much practice in fours went on upon the Upper River, under the devoted coaching of Mr. Donald Lusk, the Presbyterian chaplain to the University. This must, I think, have been the first time that 'shorts' were allowed to be worn. In 1927 a Home-Student, J. A. Brown, stroked an eight which beat Girton—an event which attracted a good deal of attention, as it was rowed on the Lower River, with attendant crowds and photographers on the towpath. Actual 'racing' was, however, not allowed again, but a time test was substituted, and all women's rowing was confined to the reaches between Medley and Godstow. The physical strain was carefully watched, and medical tests were always enforced.

A great deal of boating of other kinds went on, as in old days; additional canoes and punts were acquired, and even an outrigger sculler—the gift of a student; and a 'Boat Committee' was responsible both for the care of the boats and the efficiency of those who used them. But in 1923 we were still simple enough to hold a 'Regatta' before breakfast, on the Cherwell, where the Senior Common Room in lightness of heart 'pulled over' the Junior Common Room in a punt tug-of-war. Miss Burrows had herself always been very fond of the river, and took part in a feat of navigation, by which a

canvas canoe was brought from Shipton-under-Wychwood to Oxford, by the narrow and difficult waters of the Evenlode.

Great zest for drama prevailed, and the standard of dramatic production rose notably; the quality of the acting varied much from year to year. There was a rather famous production of a Restoration play, 'The Careless Lovers', by Ravenscroft, unearthed and produced by E. Rea and C. Morrison; and there was a play 'Sophro the Wise', by Laurence Binyon, whose daughter was one of our students in 1924. As yet no acting was allowed with men. In Oxford, as elsewhere, the post-war years witnessed a great outbreak of dancing, but only a limited number of dances might be attended by each student. Occasional feminine dances took place in the Junior Common Room, but in 1924 a proper dance was allowed. It soon became customary to hold four of these every year in the Jowett Walk Common Room, which was an excellent shape for dancing and held twenty-five couples of dancers. In 1927 the 'Academic Dance Club' was started, under the aegis of the Proctors, but was not, I think, particularly successful. All these events began early—7.30 or 8—and the women had to be home by 11 or 11.30.

Naturally there was an increasing desire for clubs and gatherings in which men and women undergraduates could share; and this brings us to the somewhat intricate subject of College and University discipline.¹ The tale that one of the first students of whom a Proctor demanded, 'Are you a member of this University?', replied, 'I never speak to a strange man in the street', at least shows the legendary remoteness of the Proctor. Till 1921 the rules of conduct and behaviour were exceedingly few; they were drawn up first by the A.E.W. and then by a Committee of the five Principals

¹ Very fully treated by A. M. A. H. R. in *Degrees by Degrees*, chap. vii.

(started in the second decade of the century, when young women were naturally emerging from their sheltered life of the earliest days). Each Society had also a few rules peculiar to itself; penalties were practically unknown.

The Women's Statute approached the subject of discipline with a gentlemanly caution. Titulus xxiii, Par. 2, 'Of status and privileges', laid down that

the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors shall have power to make regulations and to approve regulations made by the heads or representatives of the Societies of Women Students for the conduct and discipline of women undergraduates and bachelors, . . . and to enforce such regulations, or to provide for the enforcement thereof through the authorities of the respective Societies.

For a couple of years no special regulations were made. Each student on her matriculation received an impressively bound blue volume, with the reminder that she was bound 'ad observandum omnia statuta in hoc libro comprehensa, quantum ad te spectent'. But as the *liber* contained only the Examination Statutes, it could hardly be expected to stimulate any particular virtues (except perhaps that of industry!), and the *subgraduata*—still unenlightened—pursued the even path of good conduct trodden by her forerunners.

One crime was, however, rightly or wrongly, laid at her door. She had no temptation to take part in pigeon-shooting or to loiter at stage-doors—amusements forbidden since Laudian days to the male undergraduate; but she lived at some distance from libraries and lecture rooms, and she yearned for coffee and cakes at 11. This dangerous practice, involving waste of time and money, disturbed the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and was the first subject, it is believed, on which they approached the Women Principals. Much correspondence followed on the subject of the joint activities of men and women. And in 1923 each matriculand

was presented with a special proctorial 'Memorandum', similar to, but not identical with, that given to men; she was reminded that she must acquaint herself with the 'Principals' Regulations', which had been 'approved' by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors; i.e. the women's rules had been approved by the University authorities. (Nothing similar had ever occurred in the relations between men's colleges and the University.)

Two years later the Proctors' Memorandum to men undergraduates gave them their first official information as to the rules about 'mixed parties', and made them responsible, equally with the women, for carrying them out. In 1926 all this was superseded by a new pamphlet, known popularly as the 'Grey Book', issued to men and women alike. Curiously enough these Proctors gave no notice of this new move to the five Principals, whom their predecessors had so frequently consulted, nay almost called to their aid. The Principal of the Home-Students, at any rate, wrote to the Proctors and got them to come and see her, and she passed on their explanations to the Tutors' Meeting. In 1923 women had been allowed to become members of men's political clubs, and a general plan for authorizing mixed clubs was worked out.

After a lapse of over twenty years, the minute consideration given to questions of chaperonage, and the slowness to bring rules as to 'mixed parties' more into accordance with contemporary custom, may seem tiresome and almost absurd. But one must remember that despite—perhaps almost in consequence of—the generous completeness with which women had been admitted to Oxford, there were still not a few, and not only the 'die-hards', who genuinely feared a serious change in the character of the Oxford they knew, and who watched the developments with some alarm. In some things Deans and Proctors were even more careful as to

chaperonage than Women Principals. Their approach to the whole subject was from a different angle; the friendly mingling of experience was of value to both sides. As a matter of fact, the Proctors and the women seldom met officially. Any minor breach of discipline was at once reported to the student's own Society. Offenders are sometimes interviewed in the college of the respective Proctors. The first Home-Student to attend such a summons was met by the Proctor's servant at his college gates, and escorted to the presence, thus avoiding the wait among the morning's batch of young men.

A few years later students had become so emancipated that one of them was reported for appearing in a Hallowe'en revel in the Broad. 'What dress *were* you wearing?' was the natural demand, when this transgression came to the ears of authority at Jowett Walk. 'I was dressed as the devil', shyly admitted the culprit, 'but I had my gown on top.'

Truly, a Proctor with a sense of humour must get some amusement out of his unpopular job. But are they always endowed with this grace? When sympathizing friends of examination candidates caused confusion by crowding the steps of the 'Schools', the Proctors appeared one morning with their bulldogs to bring the nuisance to an end. One of the first offenders on whom they happened to pitch was a Home-Student, ex-President of her Junior Common Room, and of high repute in her own Society, who obeyed with promptitude, but with a cheerful *sotto voce*, 'Bless their little hearts!' The remark was reported by the 'bulla' to the Proctor, and she was summoned to appear next morning at his office, where he gravely fined her five shillings, to the amused comment of his colleague, escorting her to the door: 'You see, Miss —, we are more used to receive cursing than blessing.'¹

As was to have been expected, the woman undergraduate

¹ The following Ciceronian version of this event is believed to have come

proved no more dangerous to University life than her predecessor, the woman student; but all the changes in custom and in freedom involved many visits to Principal and tutors for permissions and for explanations of rules. There were often no empty seats in the row of chairs outside the offices of the Principal and Vice-Principal (the duties of the latter ranged from the inspection of swimming certificates to the interpretation of Statutes and inditing of 'graces' for degrees). But these interviews were a good opportunity for seniors and juniors to get to know each other, and the time for them was never grudged by Miss Burrows, who missed the frequent intercourse with her students to which she had been used in college. The Chairmanship of the Junior Common Room Committee—a position which she inherited from the family organization of Mrs. Johnson's days—was another valued means of contact and of exercising a wise direction. (This custom was gradually dropped by Miss Hadow.)

The terminal meeting in the Schools was the one opportunity for a gathering of the whole body of students. The Principal's entry, after a due period had been allowed for discussions and decisions on Junior Common Room affairs, was an impressive moment, and her addresses did much to weld together the scattered interests of the Society.

Another experience new to an ex-College Principal was the system of residence peculiar to Home-Students. There were, in the first place, those who really lived in their own homes, whose supervision, by the Johnson tradition, had been left almost entirely to their parents; these, as a result of University membership, had now to submit to the same discipline as

from A. M. A. H. R.: 'Proh pudor! horresco referens! Nonne mulier pupillari statu, Principalis scientiae mathematicae peritissimi filia, ambobus Procuratoribus parum reverente bene dixit, quae Vice-Cancellarii, auctore collega meo, maiestatem laesisse visa poenam dedit meritam, quinque mulctata solidis?'

others; and secondly, there was the much larger number living 'in other private houses'. Sixty ladies (for whom Miss Burrows invented the new title 'hostess' instead of 'the lady with whom the student resides') shared with the Principal the care—and to a lesser degree the control—of the students in their houses. It was a difficult feature of the system, but an essential and—in most cases—a successful one. Miss Burrows resolved from the outset on a thorough exploration both of system and of personnel. Every one of the sixty hostesses was visited during the Easter Vacation before her first term of office; and hostesses' meetings were occasionally held, in which University regulations could be explained and problems be discussed. This little-noticed but fundamental piece of work ensured the peaceful continuance on regular lines of methods which had slowly been evolved under Mrs. Johnson. With increased numbers of students, more 'homes' had to be found to receive them; each new hostess had to be interviewed by the Principal and her house formally visited and recommended for approval. The authority responsible for this approval was no longer the Delegacy of Women Students, but the recently remodelled and renamed Delegacy of Lodgings, of which the Principal of the Home-Students was *ex-officio* a member; at least two other nominated members had to be women.

The new Controller of Lodgings¹ proved to be most understanding about 'hostesses' and ingenious in fitting them into the residential framework of the University. 'Owing in great measure to his grasp of the situation, his firmness in holding to certain principles, his adaptability in working them, his patience, his willingness to consult women, his tact and his courtesy, there was very little friction in any part of the University system which he administered.'² This is the tribute

¹ Rev. K. E. Kirk (D.D. 1926, Bishop of Oxford 1937).

² *Degrees by Degrees*, p. 128.

of one who was sometimes his fierce antagonist, but whose insight and honesty led her to acknowledge his wisdom and to admire his mastery of Statutes.

Two other sub-species of residence must be noted here: ordinary lodgings, which were only permitted for the small number of students over 25 years of age, but by some of these were much appreciated for their greater economy and independence; and also the much larger house, or hostel. For the greater part of Miss Burrows's time a large house, of the nature of a hostel, was maintained at St. Thomas's Convent, under the direction of the Sisterhood; and since 1908 Roman Catholic students had had their own hostel, St. Frideswide's, Cherwell Edge, directed by the Order of the Holy Child.¹

More will be said on this subject later on. We must now turn to the subject of finance, the chief of all the problems before the new Delegates, who had inherited from their predecessors a financial system of the sketchiest kind. The question of stipends was especially urgent.

Mrs. Johnson had always given her services gratuitously,² a privilege which she rightly claimed to have been made possible by her husband's devoted work;³ and when giving evidence to the Hebdomadal Council in 1910 she had declared that she thought some Oxford resident would always be found to fill the office of Principal of the Home-Students without emolument, in return for its intrinsic interest and the position which it conferred. But this view could hardly survive the changed conditions both of status and of labour involved. The 'pioneer' period was over, and a woman with the qualifications required by the Statute of 1920 could not be expected

¹ See vol. i, p. 66.

² Until 1911, when the Delegates for Women Students voted the Principal a very small salary, which she reluctantly accepted (transferring it, I believe, to the fund for 'Poor Students').

³ See vol. i, p. 102.

to serve in an honorary capacity. A committee was at once appointed by the Delegates to consider the Principal's stipend, and an application for an increased grant was made to Council.

When the present Principal was appointed [to quote this application], the future of the Society was uncertain and a temporary provision for her was reasonable. . . . During the past two years, however, it has made a very remarkable advance, and has both justified and strengthened its position as a Society in the University. . . . The Delegates submit that the office of the Principal should now be placed on a more secure financial basis.¹

Council's response, and the subsequent negotiations constitute a long and intricate portion of our history, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The results, due especially to the laborious work and financial ability of our two honorary officers, may be ranked as a remarkable achievement on the part of the Delegates of Home-Students. They were fundamental to the whole development described in these pages.

Within the framework thus slowly built up the inner life of the Society pursued a quietly prosperous course. Nor was it lacking in proud moments of achievement. In 1923 our Law Tutor, Miss Ivy Williams—already distinguished as the first woman to receive the Oxford B.C.L. and the London D.C.L. and the first to be called to the Bar—won the added distinction of being the first to qualify for the Oxford Doctorate of Civil Law. Long will those who were present remember the moment when she entered—stately in her scarlet gown and velvet cap—and remember also 'with advantages' the fact that she had to await her presentation till after the very last of the men Bachelors of Arts had been presented! 'Equality, but separation', had been the principle laid down by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Farnell; but even an

¹ Application to Council, 15 Jan. 1923.

ultra-conservative University saw the indecorum of this extremity of logic, and at all later Degree Days women followed immediately after men, in each group of degrees. (At the present day, the research degrees are conferred on men and women together, a man Dean of Degrees uttering the formula for all.) The same year (1923) saw the appearance of three Home-Students, S. Eastwood, D. Collier, and C. M. Ottley, among the first group of women to be presented for medical degrees; and in 1928 Mrs. Eastwood followed this up by becoming the first woman Oxford Doctor of Medicine. In 1924 came a degree in music, described in the *Ship* as 'our first "home-grown" B.Mus.—for was not Miss Wiblin born and bred in Oxford, and was not her "exercise" actually composed, in a cold Christmas vacation, in the kitchen at Jowett Walk, with the aid of our cottage piano?'¹

An increasing number of research degrees were taken, both B.Litt. and B.Sc.—as many as nine in 1924; and the presence of a considerable proportion of research students became a definite feature of the Society—as it was of our male counterpart, the Non-Collegiate. Some of these were old students who had done exceptionally well in the Diploma in Geography, and who now returned to take the only degree open to them (there was no Honour School of Geography till 1933). Others were graduates of other universities, and especially from America, whose college women were ardently ambitious of an Oxford degree. There were also our own oversea students and one Indian—S. Ajgaonkar—was the first Home-Student to win the new degree of D.Phil. in 1927 by a thesis on 'The social and legal position of women in ancient India'. Very dignified and attractive did this woman of modern India appear, in her blue 'sari', surmounted by the blue and red gown. (The cap she needed only to carry in her hand, in

¹ The *Ship*, No. 14.

accordance with a special concession made by the Vice-Chancellor for nuns and Indians wearing their native dress.)

Two other outstanding instances may be remembered in our history: first, Mrs. Cheridah Stocks, who acquired a B.Sc. degree by a study of the Lapchas of Sikhim, whose mountains she intrepidly explored, borne on the back of a muscular Lapcha in a bamboo cane basket, for she had been partially crippled in an aeroplane crash before she came to Oxford.

Even more famous was Makareti (Mrs. Staples Browne), a Maori princess who had married an Englishman, and who came to Oxford to study anthropology, in order to be able to write the history of the customs and manners of her people, of which she had been taught the secrets as a child. She was enthusiastically welcomed and trained by Dr. Marett, being such a student as a Reader in Anthropology could aspire to only in his wildest dreams, and she had nearly finished the study—which was to have been presented for a B.Sc. degree—when she died suddenly. Her work was published after her death by Mr. Penniman, Secretary to the Committee for Anthropology;¹ her treasures—including feather cloaks and Maori greenstones and weapons—were restored to her own country by her son; but it was only in 1947 that the discovery was made of the wooden Maori house built for her as Chieftainess and first-born of the eldest line of the Arawa Tribe of the Maori, by her people at Whakarewarewa, New Zealand, and brought by her to her English home at Oddington in Oxfordshire. ‘After so long a time, this historic house will stand by the tall carved obelisk erected by her people in memory of Makareti, who died 10,000 miles away from her home.’²

The year 1923 witnessed the end of the ‘Registered Woman

¹ T. K. Penniman, *The Old-Time Maori*.

² ‘Report of the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum for 1947.’ *Oxford University Gazette*, No. 2570, p. 418.

Student', a title bestowed by the Delegacy of Women Students on the women placed on their register between 1911 and 1920, and continued permissibly for three years for those to whom matriculation would have meant heavy fees with no prospect of a degree. We ourselves said good-bye to an American lady, Florence Crocker, who had been a devoted Home-Student for twenty-three years! After working through a carefully planned course of English language and literature in the days of Professor Napier, she had ceased to do more than attend a few lectures, but staunchly refused to take her name off the books. She acted as 'good aunt' and interpreter of Oxford to generations of American undergraduates, both men and women. At a small farewell party given in her honour Mrs. Johnson, sitting on a sofa beside her, assured her in a charming little speech: 'You have been most helpful to us in your interest in our students from the States, "a friend in need" most truly, giving them always a warm welcome, and constant help and advice.' She left us a small legacy on her death, which took place a few years later in Oberammergau. This little story is worth giving, as a pleasant end of 'an auld sang'.

Two very important features in the growth of the Society have so far been left untouched—the institution of a corporate religious service, and the setting up of various active expressions of 'social work'.

The Society, being undenominational, had never worshipped together as a body, but soon after Miss Burrows became Principal an urgent demand was made by the students themselves for some form of corporate service. Principal and tutors welcomed the proposal, an interdenominational committee was elected, and much discussion took place as to the best form of service to meet varying forms of religious belief. Special prayers were chosen, and the first service took place

informally in the Common Room, with Dr. Carlyle, one of our oldest friends, preaching, and students and tutors singing together in the choir. From this time it became a terminal event, and has gradually assumed a more regular and formal character—the students themselves having decided that gowns should be worn and that Principal and dons should occupy special seats. With one or two early exceptions, it has taken place in St. Mary's, which we were specially invited to use as our 'chapel' by the Vicar, Dr. G. C. Richards. Non-Anglican ministers, or laymen, have quite often preached on these occasions, the Bishop's consent to such a practice having been early sought and obtained. The lesson is read by the Principal, who on one occasion also gave an address; the hymns are chosen and the preacher suggested by the Students' Committee with one or two senior members, and the service till quite recently concluded with the singing of 'God be in my head and in my understanding'. (This became so much our special hymn that it was sung at Miss Hadow's funeral in 1940.)

A similar co-operation of old and young led to an organization which has had fruitful results in another sphere. Under the awkward, but descriptive, title of 'Social Service Union', successive groups of students have met, from 1923 onwards, to explore and carry out different forms of social service both in term and vacation. They were fortunate in having as guide for twenty-two years Miss C. V. Butler, Tutor in Economics, who had a wide knowledge of social needs in and out of Oxford. This is her description of the work undertaken.

I was responsible for Demand, while the students' committee took on the Supply of workers for jobs. I used to collect and sieve the demands for help in Play Centres, Community Centres and Toddlers' Clubs, in Boys' and Girls' Clubs and Old People's

Homes. I recall a particularly cheerful cricket club for Woolworth's girls conducted by a Home-Student Blue and useful coaching in tennis and swimming in other girls' clubs. Help was given at a Mental Defectives' Home, at the Church Army Home and St. Thomas' Club for Tramps; delicate children, excluded from school, were taught, and blind people read to or taken out. We worked out a regular system with the Radcliffe Infirmary, for visiting and shopping for hospital patients and for teaching children kept long in hospital. And we have had many dealings with the Wingfield Hospital, from wheeling-out patients in chairs to see football matches, to conducting a Sunday morning service in one of the children's wards. Out of term, arrangements were made for people to visit Settlements, Hoyland Camps for and with unemployed, and hop-pickers. The organization was done by undergraduates. I chaired a short committee meeting at the beginning and end of term, and supplied continuity—an important feature from the point of view of those to be helped. I looked on the S.S.U. primarily as an O.T.C. for Social Service, and I have heard from a number of old students that it has fulfilled this purpose.

The Home-Students' S.S.U. served as a model for an Inter-collegiate organization, which sprang up in the women's Colleges as a result of Archbishop Temple's University Mission in 1931. Among other activities this group ran a yearly week-end camp at Wytham for some 40 undergraduates with specially invited members of girls' clubs in different parts of England. Its last piece of work was to recruit, with the aid of Barnett House, about 120 men and women undergraduates for work in London Tubes and Shelters after the autumn Blitz of 1940.

After this date both 'Unions' became less active, being largely superseded by a new organization for 'war work'.¹ Very little of the varied work carried on in 'the thirties' survives, but mention must be made of two especial pieces of work belonging to the early years of our S.S.U.—one of which continues to this day. The first was the 'Beaver Girls'

¹ p. 78 *infra*.

Club' run by Home-Students in the poor district round St. Thomas's, Oxford, between 1923 and 1926. The second began with another youth club, connected with the Lady Margaret Hall Settlement, which was trying, about 1924, to extend its work to a new and neglected district of Lambeth, on the site of the old 'Vauxhall Gardens'. A disused public-house, the 'Duke of Clarence', was later presented by a friend to the Settlement for conversion into a social centre. This new work was adopted by our Society in 1928, and the connexion has continued steadily ever since, becoming a regular relationship, like that of colleges with settlements of their own. Students and old students have visited 'the Duke'. Girls from the 'Beaver Club', Vauxhall, have come to Oxford for glorious Whit Mondays; 'tired mothers' have been entertained in Oxford for a week at a time, and a regular terminal levy from each student has helped to provide a nucleus for a resident club-worker's salary.

This account has been carried far beyond the limiting dates of the present chapter, in order to show the long continuity of a movement which has had a marked influence on the character of our Society.

One notable event of this period may be told in Miss Burrows's own words.

In March 1923 I had the honour—shared by Miss Penrose, Principal of Somerville—of being invited to one of the afternoon parties at Buckingham Palace. I was introduced by the lady-in-waiting to Queen Mary as the Head of a large school,—so she had quite the wrong idea in her mind. I explained that our Students had all the privileges of the other women in the University, and were indeed governed directly by it, but that they lived in private houses and some in a hostel. Then the Queen said 'Will you give your Students a message? Will you tell them from me to *Keep Together?*'—I thought it rather remarkable that a lady who had

never lived in school or college, nor administered one, should realize the difficulty of dispersion so promptly.

The story shows that by this date the Society of Oxford Home-Students was fully recognized outside Oxford; also that, while our name might puzzle the uninformed, it often aroused special interest when explained.

After five or six years of peaceful and happy development, signs of storm began to make themselves felt. The country at large had to face the General Strike of 1926—an event which gave Oxford undergraduates a joyful chance to prove their practical usefulness. They flocked away to assist in essential work such as driving trains and unloading ships, and Schools had to be postponed to allow time for recovery from these distractions. The women undergraduates were ordered to remain in Oxford—a command which the young woman of these days would deem wholly unreasonable, and which was a deep mortification to those of the 'twenties'. There were possibly a few rebels even then, but authority turned a merciful eye!

Our own Society suffered a disturbance rather painful at the time, but happily short in duration. It was occasioned by a move on the part of a well-grown limb of our body politic—St. Frideswide's, Cherwell Edge. The establishment had been warmly welcomed in 1907 by Mrs. Johnson, who saw its value to Roman Catholic education in England; she guided it through its early years with a light rein. The 'Reverend Mother' who acted as Head both of the 'lay' house and the convent adjoining it had, on her side, to combine a special influence on her own students with loyal membership of the larger Society. Tutors' reports were shown to her by the Principal, and information sent to her as to tutorial arrangements for her students. After a time, as already mentioned, two special resident tutors were appointed at the request of

the Order. The house itself (once that of the Protestant historian, J. A. Froude) was an admirable one, and there was a steady stream of applicants for admission—almost all from Roman Catholic schools. It was sanctioned by the A.E.W. as a special house of residence for Roman Catholic Home-Students, and again, as a hostel, by the Women's Delegacy; in 1920 it received a licence under the same title from the Vice-Chancellor. The Order, no doubt, looked forward, at that time, to the ultimate grant of 'Hall' status, by a process resembling the evolution of St. Hilda's. But in two ways the events of 1920 raised up unforeseen obstacles to this ambition. First, with the tightening of admission rules, Cherwell Edge vacancies could only be filled on the results of the examination conducted by the whole body of tutors. Entrance to the Society, as a whole, became competitive, and some pupils from Catholic schools, whom Cherwell Edge would have wished to admit, had consequently to be refused. Next came certain proposals from the Controller of Lodgings to alter the definition of a hostel, as part of a general review of the system of out-college residence in the University. While these alterations were pending, the licence to Cherwell Edge became due for renewal, which, for technical reasons, was only granted for one year. The Order took needless alarm, and applied to Council for independent status as a Hall—a request that was almost inevitably refused, as the University had already made its regulations as to Women's Colleges and Halls, and had no desire to allow a 'Private Hall' for women.

Much disappointment was felt by the patrons of Cherwell Edge, and perhaps a little surprise on the part of the Delegates at some of the criticisms made in support of the application. The whole matter was involved in larger issues, such as the finance of the Society of Home-Students, and the number of women altogether in the University. It soon sank, however,

into oblivion, and there is no more loyal section of the Society than that comprising the students and nuns presided over by the Holy Child Order.

The new statute (1927) defined a hostel as a house for students 'on a permanent footing and not run for profit'—which gave a satisfactory and dignified position to houses maintained by religious orders. Within the scope of the larger Society members of Cherwell Edge undoubtedly enjoy advantages which they could not have had in a self-contained Hall of thirty students—a size that seemed natural in the early years of the century, but which would have meant permanent inferiority to Societies of 150 to 200 undergraduates. An Anglican Order not long after applied for a licence—that of the Community of St. Mary the Virgin at Wantage, and their hostel at Springfield St. Mary has ever since played a leading part in our community.

The four women's colleges were the next to be threatened by a storm which only beat in a lesser degree upon our own Society. A certain anti-feminist feeling revived at this time in the University, aggravated perhaps by a perfectly legitimate attempt of some women voters to secure at the election to Council (1926) some new members known to be friendly to their interests. (The result had been the exclusion of certain well-tried members of Council.) Old fears revived, and 210 members of Congregation petitioned Council to promote legislation to limit the total number of women undergraduates. A Statute was proposed, by which Lady Margaret Hall and St. Hugh's College were to be limited to 160, and Somerville and St. Hilda's Colleges to 150 students each; no new society of women should be permitted unless the average number of women in the last three years had been less than a quarter of the average number of men undergraduates, by not less than 160. An offer of voluntary self-limitation made by

the Women's Colleges was refused, unless they would pledge themselves to vote for a measure forbidding the founding of any other Women's College in the future. The contest was fought out in full-dress debate in the Sheldonian, where the Preamble was carried by 229 votes to 164 (June 1927). Compared with the recent move for limitation (Hilary Term, 1948) and its defeat by a vote of 223 to 11, the campaign might have seemed a severe one; but it was fought without any real bitterness, and it is likely that only the more vehement debaters affected the vote—and that, most probably, *against* their own side.

Our own Society, though deeply sympathetic, was only remotely affected, for we had been dealt with earlier in the same year by changes in our own section of Titulus xxiii. Some important amendments were prepared by Council in 1926 and sent to the Delegates, who referred them to the newly constituted Tuition Fund Committee. They were found to contain a provision for membership of the Delegacy by the tutors. By some curious misapprehension of the numbers of Home-Student tutors, they were limited to four. The Committee asked the views of the tutors, who naturally raised an objection to such a diminution of their existing number. A proposal for the election of four representative tutors by the whole Tutors' Meeting was put forward, and was carried through Congregation together with some other modifications of the Statute, under the skilful pilotage of our chairman, Mr. Ross. (On this occasion—8 Feb. 1927—Miss Rogers made her first and only speech in Congregation, which she had attended so long. She spoke impromptu, and with a clarity and incisiveness that carried immediate conviction on a point that had been misunderstood.) The changes were summarized with dignity in the Delegates' Annual Report (1926-7):

This Statute confirms several of the existing by-laws and regulations of the Delegates and introduces some desirable changes which they were not competent to make. They had already defined the maximum number of undergraduates whom they desired to have in residence at 220, apart from special cases, and they had based their finance on the maintenance of approximately this number, which is now authorised by Statute.

(The Limitation Statute confirmed this number as '220, and such other number as the University may from time to time determine'—five additional students being allowed for exceptional reasons.) 'The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors', this same Report continues, 'have, under the amended Statute, approved a by-law made by the Delegates as to the academical qualifications of the tutors. By other by-laws the Delegates have provided that a larger share in the administrative work of the Delegacy shall be undertaken by the tutors.' The year undoubtedly marked an important development in tutorial history.

The year 1927, which had begun with the death of our beloved foundress, Mrs. Johnson (April),¹ and had seen the rising and abating of this mild anti-feminist storm, ended quietly with a reform which greatly moved the world of the Junior Common Room. This was the substitution of a compulsory subscription (10s. a term) to the Amalgamated Clubs Fund for the older plan by which each undergraduate club was responsible for its own funds. The system had had its good points, demanding much zeal and self-help from the members of each separate club, but it had become too burdensome for club secretaries with the great increase of numbers. An undergraduate letter² alludes to 'that tense moment when the President and Vice-President of the Junior Common

¹ See vol. i, p. 103.

² The *Ship*, No. 17, p. 44.

Room with harrowed faces counted the forest of hands', adding 'the subject has lost its position of pre-eminence and has been accepted as the inevitable'. The year ended with a Gaudy which crammed the Common Room at Jowett Walk almost to overflowing, and gave the opportunity not only for a commemoration of our first Principal, but for a tribute to our second, who had been seriously ill. Mrs. Prichard spoke of her 'spirit, kindness and wonderful generosity; she gave generously of her time, her money, her life'.¹

The next year (1928) was momentous in the history of the Society. On 28 February 'out of the blue' came a letter from the Registrar to Miss Rogers, announcing an offer to the Delegates of a large benefaction. The donor had expressed a desire to remain anonymous, acting through her solicitors, and the exact form that her bounty was to take was not very definite. 'Our client's intention', so ran the solicitor's letter, 'is to make provision for some or all of the Women Undergraduates who are at present Home-Students in Oxford. . . . This, it is hoped, would afford them a more complete corporate life.' It almost appeared, at the outset, as if it were desired, by a wave of a wand, to turn the Society into a college, despite its proudly evolved and peculiar traditions. The earnest generosity of the intention was, however, undoubted, and after an interview between the senior solicitor, the Principal, and the Secretary (Miss Rogers), an offer of a residential hostel was laid aside in favour of central buildings for the Society.

In May the proposals came definitely before the Delegates, and were accepted with the gratitude that so undreamed-of a windfall deserved. The good fairy now revealed herself as Mrs. Amy Hartland of Hardwick House, near Chepstow, and much correspondence went on between her solicitors and a sub-committee for 'Benefactions', appointed by the Delegates.

¹ *The Ship*, No. 17, p. 38.

The former explained that their client had not yet, though she expected soon to realize, sufficient funds for all that she planned to do, but that, as suitable sites were scarce in Oxford, she felt that the search for ground should begin at once. Early in 1929 a site near Holywell Mill was seriously considered; but the situation, though beautiful, was damp, and there were other difficulties attached to the purchase. It began to be clear, moreover, that there was not yet sufficient capital available to cover the cost of site preparation as well as of building. Negotiations with the landlords (Merton College) were accordingly dropped and a Trust was drawn up (dated 1 August 1929) which appointed as Trustees Mrs. Hartland, her lawyer, and another friend, but contained no representative of the Society that was to benefit from it. While the search for land was going on, the funds in the Trust would be safely accumulating at interest.

All that could be officially announced was contained in the 'Annual Report' published in 1929.

The Delegates have learnt with much pleasure that a lady who desires to remain anonymous has created a Trust for the benefit of the Society, with the special object of providing it with suitable central buildings, which could be used for administrative, educational and social purposes. They do not anticipate any immediate benefit from the Trust, as the Fund is not yet sufficient for the purpose desired by the founder, but they are most grateful to her for her generosity.

Rather tentative the approach of the teller of good tidings! rather puzzled—almost unenthusiastic—their reception! but if these characteristics strike one in retrospect, they do but enhance the splendour of the benefaction in which the Society was finally to rejoice.

The interpretation of the mysterious prologue to the tale

was given many years later in a letter to Miss Burrows from Miss Mann, Principal of St. Hilda's:

The beginning of my acquaintance with Mrs. Hartland was when she and her husband came to see my uncle¹ at Merton in the autumn of 1927, on an afternoon when I happened to be there. Mr. Hartland was a member of Merton College and an old acquaintance of my uncle. Mrs. Hartland came to call on me next morning and said she had a sum of money laid by which she wanted to devote to 'founding a women's college', or if that proved to be impossible, to founding scholarships for women which would bear her name. She said that she herself had always regretted having missed the chance of a University education, and she wished her name to be in some way perpetuated in connection with women's education in Oxford. For that reason she did not wish her gift to go to any College, such as St. Hilda's, which was already in being, and she rejected the idea of founding 'Hartland Scholarships' there. Owing to the Statute limiting the number of women, passed that summer, it was impossible for a new College to be founded, and the only object I could suggest to her which would at all answer her desires was the Society of Oxford Home-Students, which needed central buildings.

The resulting stages in the story have already been traced, but that we thus owe to Miss Mann our original introduction to Mrs. Hartland must never be forgotten in our Society, though she herself has disclaimed all title to generosity for the service done. May we not see, however, in her prompt recollection of the needs of the Home-Students and her readiness to serve them, further links in the chain that binds us and St. Hilda's together? For if our Society was the nursing mother of St. Hilda's Hall, the full-grown College has made full returns, first by giving us one of her Principals as our own, and later by suggesting us, through another Principal, as recipients of a bounty, almost re-creative in its effects.

¹ Mr. T. Bowman, Warden of Merton College, 1903-36.

This happy reflection brings us almost to the close of our chapter. The Delegacy meeting which received the announcement of the Hartland Trust was the last to be attended by Miss Burrows. Her intention to retire from office at the end of Trinity Term, 1929, had been announced a year ago, and the appointment of Miss Grace Hadow as her successor had been made in Michaelmas Term, 1928.

She brought her term of office to an end at a moment full of hope and of promise, though the way of fulfilment was not yet clear. The time, indeed, was not ripe for the full development of the Society in things material. But constitutionally and educationally the framework had been built. Much of the structure, as she would be the first to admit, was the result of the devoted service given by tutors, by staff, and by Delegates—notably by the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer. But within this framework a spirit had been nourished that was largely due to the Principal. Her College experience had made her exactly the pilot that the ship needed on this part of her voyage—a voyage through somewhat difficult straits to a wider sea. Caution and care were needed lest the new inheritance of women's privileges should be spoilt. The impatience of the young and 'up-to-date' was none the worse for some restraint; under new forms of discipline a new *ἥθος* had to develop, less individual but no less vigorous than the old. Miss Burrows left a tutorial and a 'hostess' system well and soundly established to meet the needs of the future; she left, too, a body of students with a strong and perfectly rational *esprit de corps*. The zeal of Home-Students—as long as that title continued—was probably stimulated by the unacknowledged sense that they were different from other bodies of students, and must justify themselves to the world. Miss Burrows had guided us into ways that were more collegiate, but she had never broken with tradition—above all with that

of intense interest in the individual student. It was this power of personal friendship that helped to bind the Society together and is still helping many of her old students, scattered throughout the world. Yet one more aspect of tradition was carried on from Mrs. Johnson's time. This friendship was offered not only during the long hours of duty at the helm, but also in the background of home. The little house at the corner of Merton Street will not soon be forgotten by those welcomed there by Miss Burrows and her mother, whose vivid interest in young people and whose witty turn of speech helped to make their joint hospitality a charming thing.

II

1929-40

MISS G. E. HADOW, PRINCIPAL

THE next period is one of rapid and striking development based upon foundations firmly laid.

The new Principal was a woman of wide experience, well known already in many spheres of life. But, first and foremost, she was thoroughly a daughter of Oxford. Bred in the Cotswolds—the natural background of Oxford—Grace Hadow had come to Somerville as a Scholar, and taken a ‘First’ in English Literature in 1903. After spending a year in the United States as Reader in English at Bryn Mawr College, she had returned to be Tutor, then Lecturer, at Lady Margaret Hall from 1906 to 1917. Added to this intimate acquaintance with women’s education was the wider knowledge of Oxford gained through her friendship with her brother Henry,¹ then Fellow of Worcester College, a distinguished lecturer both in logic and music. The devotion between this brilliant brother and sister, and their community of interest in things artistic and intellectual, was an important influence in both their lives. It was perhaps one of the many factors that made it impossible for Miss Hadow to become, or to be designated, merely a ‘woman don’.

By middle life she was almost better known for her work outside the University. During the First World War she had held an important post in the Ministry of Munitions—an invaluable training in administration—and since then she had

¹ Later Sir Henry Hadow, Vice-Chancellor of Durham University, 1916-18, and of Sheffield University, 1919-30.

thrown herself into the Women's Institute Movement and into the growth of extra-mural—more especially rural—education. As Secretary to Barnett House, 1920-9, she had been able to combine these various trends of interest.¹

Would Grace Hadow be able to turn from the new movements, with their fascinating possibilities of development, to the academic duties on which she would now be expected to concentrate? Would she prove too administrative, too extra-mural, or again, too collegiate in outlook to appreciate the special character of the Home-Students' Society, both on the personal and on the constitutional side? On the latter she was well guarded from the outset by our indefatigable legal expert. 'I must try', wrote Miss Rogers trenchantly to another tutor, 'to make Miss Hadow understand the difficulties of our relation to the University. She has not a Government Office behind her, and does not know much about Council. The Home-Students are not a College, and it is no good trying to make out that they are.' The Principal accepted this schooling with humorous tolerance, and, if she never cared for the jots and tittles of 'Statuta', soon obtained a firm mastery of the principles of University administration; in 1935 she became a member of the Hebdomadal Council—the second woman to attain that dignity.

To her own administrative staff Miss Hadow soon revealed the extreme rapidity and clearness of mind which enabled her to organize and to delegate with so much success as to cover an enormous quantity of work with what seemed to be a minimum of effort. In Miss Aubrey Moore, with her calm mastery of routine and minute acquaintance with students and hostesses, she, for her part, soon recognized the qualities that have made our office secretary the prop and stay of successive Principals, There was also, close at hand, a Vice-Principal whose almost

¹ Cf. H. C. Deneke, *Grace Hadow*, O.U.P., chaps. vii and viii.

pedantic interest in statutes and regulations made her something of a brake to Pegasus—a relationship in which both parties rejoiced!

To make close contact with the tutorial staff was perhaps less easy. Most of the tutors had been Home-Students themselves. They were steeped in the traditions of the Society, and devoted to its interests; between them, by the bonds between each tutor and her circle of pupils, they formed the most permanent cement in our scattered Society, but, living in their own homes or lodgings, they met rather rarely, and had little opportunity to formulate opinions as a body. They had, however, in recent years, gained much in corporate feeling and in desire and capacity to share in the development of the Society. This growth was the result of the deliberate policy of Principal and Delegates (described in the preceding chapter), and its effects had been seen in the claim successfully made by the tutors to express their wishes as to the recent appointment of the new Principal. Not long after (June 1930), they also asked for a share in tutorial appointments, and the Delegates agreed that the Selection Committee for the appointment of any tutor or assistant tutor should always contain at least one tutor.

To the official Tutors' Meetings Miss Hadow was able to add an agreeable gloss—a weekly lunch at her home in Fyfield Road, where she kept open house for tutors on one day a week in term. It was a delightful innovation, giving the opportunity for tutors not only to gain a better acquaintance with each other, but also to enjoy the friendly hospitality and witty talk of their hostess; and from the very outset its value was felt in a Society that had (by collegiate standards) no Senior Common Room.

The problems of the Tutors' Meetings or Library Committees that sometimes followed were faced with greater zest after these friendly gatherings, with their atmosphere of

laughter, flowers, and good cheer. Tutors' Meetings had an innate tendency to prolong themselves by discussion of details, but they were now in the hands of a chairman of immense experience and skill. Almost ruefully the most combative or discursive individuals found themselves shepherded into decisions, and could only laugh at the good humour and clearness of mind which had guided them.

Tradition presented itself in a happy form that first term, for the Society rather suddenly decided that 1929 was its Jubilee Year. Home-Students had in fact existed—though at first without the actual name, since 1879, and they were not disposed to admit any claim to seniority on the part of Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall.¹ The 'Old Students' Association' organized a Jubilee Service and Gaudy, which did much to quicken a sense of our growing maturity.

The Service in St. Mary's was a solemn and memorable occasion—nave and galleries filled with past and present members gathered 'to give God thanks for His good hand upon the Society from the first beginning even unto this day'. A special Jubilee thank-offering added a considerable sum to the 'Bertha Johnson Scholarship' Fund; it included a donation of £10 from 'Old Student Nuns of the Order of the Holy Child', and another sent through the Senior Student of Cherwell Edge, 'as we do not come to the terminal service'.

The Saturday evening witnessed a particularly successful Dinner at Rhodes House, attended by nearly 200 old students and guests. Speeches were made by the old and the new Principals, and by the two eldest members present—Miss Rogers and Mrs. Matheson. These were listened to by an additional and interested audience of present students, who

¹ L.M.H. actually held its Jubilee a year earlier, dating its 'jubilee' from the first meeting for its foundation in 1878. Somerville College held its celebrations in the same term as our own. Cf. vol. i, pp. 8, 17, and 35-6.

were offered sweets and cigarettes in the gallery. The evening ended with 'A Half Century of Dancing, 1879-1929', in which one set piece was performed 'in costume'. Old and young joined in Victorian dances, which proved more exhausting to the younger guests than the older. It was a friendly and unconventional close to an historic gathering—a gathering which added to the prestige and confidence of the Society, and gave it a happy introduction to the new Principal, who for that night firmly and humorously assumed the part of the 'youngest Beaver present'. Some respectful 'pushes' were, indeed, required before she quite realized the outward dignity expected of the Principal of a fifty-year-old Society. Those who remember Miss Hadow in later years at the terminal service or meeting, or setting out to play her part in the Vice-Chancellor's procession at the Encaenia, will hardly believe that the whole 'Jubilee' congregation was held in its seats, while waiting for the lead of the Principal, who was discovered in her pew exchanging cap and gown for motoring outfit. She was about to set forth in her own car to drive an old student, who had acted as organist, back to her Cotswold school—a fifty-mile drive on a cold November night. It was a much-appreciated incident.

After this inspiring inauguration of the new reign, the customary life of the Society went on with few changes, but with renewed vigour. Perhaps we were rather on our mettle to show a new Head not only our ancient foundations but our fresh and lusty vitality.

Undergraduates soon found that they need fear no lessening of the traditional sympathy between Principal and students. Her judgement and her knowledge were at the disposal of all who asked for them. The width of her contacts with the outside world impressed the young, who soon developed an almost childlike confidence in the new openings that she

would discover for them. Careers in the B.B.C., careers in business firms, such as Lewis's and Selfridge's, were some of the new developments.

A 'Career Shelf' was set up in the writing room, where preliminary explorations could be made by those who were facing what a student described in the *Ship* as 'the blank vista beyond our academic careers'. 'We are very much alive', adds this writer; and 'our Beaver has been re-drawn, and will shortly come before us in his new guise—a welcome sight'.¹ This last sentence refers to one of Miss Hadow's earliest cares for small but important artistic details. She had been struck by the poorness of the Beaver crest which graced our note-paper—the original design having much deteriorated with the process of making it into a diestamp. Remembering the delightful drawing of a beaver in Leslie Brooke's *Johnny Crow's Garden* she persuaded that eminent author-artist, whom she knew well, to make us a fresh design, which he enriched with the Oxford fritillary. Miss Hadow always cherished an affectionate interest in our patron animal, and was much pleased when Mr. Brooke presented her with his original drawing of the *Johnny Crow* beaver;² she also took much delight in a 'conceit', perpetrated by one of the tutors, the founder of the Social Service Union, depicting various beavers engaged in social work for the community—in accordance with that story-loving chronicler of the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis.

In matters of discipline Miss Hadow moved at first with some caution, realizing that her pre-war experience as a college don had been an insufficient training in the mysteries of complete University membership. There survives a brief but refreshing correspondence between herself and a Senior Proctor, whom she consulted on the proctorial rule that 'two

¹ G. L. in the *Ship*, No. 20, p. 40.

² This picture was bequeathed by her to the writer of this book.

women should be of the party', in mixed expeditions by boat or car. 'Did this apply to engaged couples?' By return of post came the reply: 'Dear Miss Hadow, Even the Proctors are human.' I think, after that, she trusted to her own robust common sense—supplemented by an occasional reference to the printed word—in dealing with the student problems that came before her day by day. During her years of office, regulations became less intricate and rather more freedom was allowed to women undergraduates, by consent and goodwill of both Proctors and 'Heads'. There was naturally an increased desire for motoring—a matter in which the Principal's extensive experience as 'owner-driver' stood her in good stead. An inquiry as to the possibility of leave for a motor trip to Cambridge for some match received a characteristically pointed reply:

(1) I've no objection to car, provided they understand that they must train if fog seems likely; (2) They must have a decent meal in Cambridge before they start back; (3) I should want to know what hour that involved leaving Camb.; (4) As it will be after dark in any case and there is less traffic after 8 than before, I don't mind if they are not back till 9.30 or so. Better that, than hurrying.

Woe betide the student, however, who abused the confidence placed in her! Some devastating interviews must be recalled by the very few who were summoned to the Principal's office on account of serious misdemeanours. The countenance that was usually so welcoming could freeze into the 'Hadow glare', and heavy penalties were occasionally inflicted, where deserved.

But G. E. H. had at heart a real love for youthful rebels, and preferred the appeal to reason and common sense rather than to authority. She delighted in the rejoinder of one young offender: 'Yes, I see that's very sensible', made with no intention of impertinence, but as 'woman to woman' after the

reasons for an unwelcome decision had been given. And she could chuckle over the tone of comradeship into which on lighter occasions the young sometimes slipped. A cheerful young person called at the end of term, before starting for winter sports. 'I regretted [says a letter of the Principal] that I was too old to learn to ski.' 'Rats!' said P—. ('I like respect', is the amused Principalian comment.) Or again in another letter to the same friend (ill in bed, and needing to see the lighter side of life): 'One of our most virtuous Freshers has been to tea—unchaperoned—in . . . College. "I didn't know where we were going, Miss Hadow." I explained that every dog was allowed one bite, and that she had had hers. I did not say, as I thought, that it seemed a pity to have got it over so early in her career' (23 Oct.).

But the Principal had a strong feeling that this generation of young people (so much criticized at the time, so soon to prove its worth and valour) was by no means irresponsible in more important things. 'Young Oxford passionately desires to be just', she said in an admirable address on 'Education for Living', given at a 'Mental Health Conference' in 1936.¹ 'It seems to me, that the keynote of Oxford is the desire to know, to utter and to argue freely; that, as mercifully is always the case, the young have a desire for adventure, for experiment, for independence, and that this generation, having grown up in an atmosphere of change and development, has a real desire not only to enjoy life to the full, but to take a hand in reshaping the world.'

By the date of this address (1936) we can see that Miss Hadow had acquired an intimate knowledge and appreciation of the character of her Society.

Since by its peculiar constitution [she continues], my Society

¹ From the *Journal of the National Council of Mental Hygiene*, reprinted by kind permission in *Grace Hadow*, by H. C. Deneke, pp. 120 et seq.



Yours faithfully
Amy F. Eastland



Bassano

GRACE HADOW, 1938

contains both girls living at home and those living under ordinary College conditions, it may be of interest to compare the two. First, as to girls who come up from boarding schools or day schools. Here it is necessary to remember that, on the whole, those who come from day schools tend to come from poorer homes. In many cases they are State Scholars, and in quite a number of instances they have few advantages in the way of books or talk at home. Such girls sometimes find their first term at Oxford a great strain, and I think they often benefit considerably by living as a member of the family, with only one or two other girls in the house, and with a hostess who takes a personal interest in them. They have all the advantages of being members of a large Society as far as clubs and societies and games are concerned, without being overwhelmed by a crowd of strangers. . . .

A few of the girls from the better type of boarding school also benefit by being placed in the family of an Oxford don, where they meet older men and women as a matter of course, and hear things discussed from a grown up point of view. I have known students who learned to appreciate this greatly, though in some cases they had at first been disappointed at not getting into a residential College. . . .

Girls actually living in their own homes are in a slightly different category. Without doubt I think it is on the whole usually¹ more difficult for them to concentrate on their work. . . . In dealing with women one has to face the fact that claims will be made on them which are not made on their brothers. A boy is not expected to run the house, if he is living at home and his mother goes away or falls ill—a girl is. . . . However, there are certain advantages. The girl who has been at a very pleasant and comfortable school and has passed direct from that to the still more pleasant and to some extent artificial life of a College, in some cases leaves the University still very much of a child. . . . It is sometimes easier for a girl when she goes out into the world, if she has had some training in the give and take of life [at home]. Everything naturally depends upon the

¹ Not all who have been students in their own homes would agree to this criticism. See *infra*, pp. 97-100.

home. Not infrequently in the case of Home-Students, the girls have been away to boarding schools, and come home for their University career. . . . It is not uncommon for a student who has lived at home or with a hostess for her first two years to ask permission to go into a Hostel for her last year; but it is also not uncommon for those who have been in Hostels to move out in their last year for the sake of the greater quiet.

This lengthy quotation has been made because of its excellence as an analysis of the residential system peculiar to the Home-Students, while this system was still at its prime, and also because it shows the appreciation which this had won from a Principal who was not an alumna of the Society. System and individual, Society and student, must each serve and be 'compacted' into the other.

There was another feature of the Society, which to some newcomers might have seemed less worthy, but which G. E. H. estimated at its true value. In a memorandum composed by her, when the Delegates were applying in 1936 for an increased University Grant, she refers to the Royal Commission's recommendation that part of the government grant should be given to Non-Collegiate students, men and women, in order 'to give further support to poor students'.

The Society [declares this memorandum] has made every effort, compatible with one of its main objects, to raise such funds as it needs. . . . If the Home-Students are to continue to cater for poor students they cannot raise their fees still further. It would be absurd to ask our students to pay as much as those resident in College, where there are many amenities that we cannot provide. . . . Any further increase would inflict real hardship. We have students whose pocket money for the term amounts to £3, and out of this they have to pay their laundry bills. We have every year a number who have to obtain paid posts in order to keep themselves during vacation. I have known them serve in

shops, act as waitresses, obtain posts as nursery governesses, and look after old ladies, in order to keep themselves through the Long Vacation.¹

This type of student always received most sympathetic treatment from the Principal, and every effort was made to help them through the special funds available, and in other ways.

The Benefaction, with all its exciting mystery and promise, was soon to claim Miss Hadow's fullest attention. The Trustees, with the aid of the Delegates, were constantly seeking for a site, and, though several were considered, the various attempts proved abortive. The uncertainty as to the amount of money available made the whole matter confusing for the future beneficiaries. 'The Benefaction spins up and down till I am dazed', writes Miss Hadow in the autumn of 1930. At last in 1932 Mrs. Hartland and her solicitor came to Oxford themselves to investigate sites. A momentous discovery was made, that two houses, 56 Woodstock Road and 35 Banbury Road, with gardens adjoining each other, were simultaneously for sale. They adjoined the house already occupied as a hostel for students by the Wantage Sisters, under the title of Springfield St. Mary. This house, 33 Banbury Road, most fortunately possessed a garden running almost through to Woodstock Road. The three properties together offered a space with striking possibilities, and the Hartland Trustees courageously purchased the freehold of the whole block—using 'fresh money', and thus leaving the funds in the Trust to pile up interest at about £700 a year. Mrs. Hartland dipped further into her lucky purse by purchasing the remainder of the leases of '35' and '56'. The lease of Springfield was in the hands of the Sisters till its expiry in 1964. Their community was very glad to take over the other two houses, as an extension

¹ Memorandum presented by Delegates to Council, 15 Oct. 1936.

of the hostel, on a yearly tenancy; the three gardens were thrown into one and have been a model pleasure-garden and vegetable allotment ever since; the yearly rents go to swell the Trust Fund. The final legal formalities were accomplished by 1933, and by the autumn students were occupying the new houses, named, with becoming piety, 'Hartland' and 'Greenways'¹ respectively.

Mrs. Hartland at once pressed for the choice of an architect; the great Sir Giles Scott was approached, and was asked to design a building in such a way that it could be finished in sections, as funds permitted, and would meanwhile interfere as little as possible with the Springfield houses.

The drama of the New Buildings now becomes increasingly intricate. Three distinct plots are working themselves out—that of the Trust, of the bequest of a house in South Parks Road, and of the Nettleship Library. There is also an underplot—the Playing Fields—which has (as 'Mr. Puff' would desire) 'as little connexion with the main plot as possible', and may therefore be briefly treated here, though its origin was earlier in date.

The need for tennis courts and grounds for hockey and lacrosse had been met in early days by rather precarious arrangements for the hiring or sharing of fields in various parts of Oxford—ranging from distant but gravel-soiled Summer-town to beautiful Holywell with its goal-posts almost rooted in puddles. (In fact, this field was considered and rejected for the central building.) A natural demand arose for a good ground with some security of tenure, and in 1928 the Delegates appointed a Playing-Fields Committee, with instructions to search for a sports field and plan its finance. Their first step was to recommend the raising of the entrance fee to the

¹ This title was chosen as reminiscent of its last tenant, Mrs. T. H. Green, one of our earliest friends, see pp. 103-4, *infra*.

Society from £1 to £2, the extra pound to be paid into a special Playing-Field Fund. This was at once agreed to by the Delegates, and a long search for a ground took place. After several disappointments the Committee turned to the Curators of the Parks who, thanks to the good offices of Dr. Dudley Buxton, both a Curator and a Delegate, agreed to an innovation, considered startling by some old-fashioned habitués of the Parks, by which young women, as well as though not then *with* young men, might take their afternoon's exercise in those sacred precincts. The Curators undertook for £250 to lay out a first-class playing field in the Keble end of the Parks, and to lease it to the Delegates for 21 years at £24 yearly rent, plus an additional £35 for upkeep (Nov. 1932). This new ground, finally completed by 1934, was a great joy to athletic members of the Society,¹ and must always be gratefully associated with the name of Dr. Buxton, a good friend to our students and to women's sports in general. (It was he who a few years later carried through the construction of the bathing place in the Parks, known generally as 'Dames' Delight'—though, as Miss Hadow once remarked, it might well have been called 'Buxton's Bounty'.)

To return to our three main plots. One of these centred in the Nettleship Library—to the origin of which some space must here be allowed. This intercollegiate Women's Library was founded in 1895, as a result of a gift from the widow of Professor Henry Nettleship of part of his classical library; this had been supplemented from a fund collected as a memorial to him, and also by a grant of books made at about the same date by the University. It was placed in one of the attics in the Clarendon Building, which have been used for so many purposes (by Professors of Mineralogy for their collec-

¹ One of them, Miss Lane Poole's niece, Eularia, designed the small pavilion.

tions of fossils in the thirties and forties, and by the Delegacy for Non-Collegiate Students as offices in the seventies).¹

The Library thus adjoined, and indeed soon overflowed into, the A.E.W. office, so that in early days whoever was in charge of this office could also supervise the giving out and return of books. It was controlled and financed by the A.E.W. and was open, both for reading and borrowing, to all Association students.² When the A.E.W. was wound up in 1920, the Library, containing then over 8,000 volumes, came under the control of the 'Women Students' Property Committee' set up by the University to administer the property and investments hitherto administered by the Delegacy for Women Students and by the Association. There was just enough money available from the sums thus inherited, supplemented by grants from the five Societies, to pay the modest salary then thought proper for a skilled and efficient Librarian. The books were moved in 1921 to new and larger quarters in Jowett Walk, next door to the offices and Common Room of the Home-Students. In 1922 Mrs. Geldart gave the law books of her husband, the late Vinerian Professor of English Law, to found a Women's Law Library, with a sum of £500 for its further development. These books were placed in a separate room, under the title of the 'Geldart Law Library'. Both libraries flourished and grew under the excellent librarianship of Miss Bigg, whose discriminating advice on books and on life, and whose 'library teas' to the students who gave voluntary help in end-of-term labours, will long be remembered by students of this period.

During the next ten years the four colleges were building up and enlarging their own libraries, with the result that their

¹ *Oxford*, vol. ix, No. 3.

² See *Degrees by Degrees*, pp. 129-32, for a fuller account of the Nettleship Library.

students had less need for the intercollegiate women's library, which by a common feeling came to be looked on almost as the Home-Students' library. The continuance of the college contributions began to be debated. A further stimulus to the conception of a library of our own was given by 'a very welcome and handsome gift of books... made by Mrs. Simpson, mother of an old student, who presented the library belonging to her uncle, Mr. H. R. Barrow' (1930).¹ It contained a few fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books, the first objects of any antiquarian value which the Society possessed.² The latter were housed by the University Press until suitable accommodation could be found for them. The rest were shelved in bookcases at Springfield St. Mary, by the kindness of the Wantage Sisters. They were available to all Home-Students. Other gifts followed, and by 1933 there were 3,000 books at Springfield and a special Library Committee was formed, which secured the help of a part-time librarian. (It was at this time that Mr. Leslie Brooke designed our bookplate, from a drawing of part of the garden and building at Jowett Walk.) The Home-Students thus already possessed a nucleus library when, as a result of negotiations opened by the four Women's Colleges, the latter generously relinquished their claims on the Nettleship Library. By a statute passed in Trinity Term, 1934, the ownership and the financial burden of this library were transferred to our Society. This unhopd-for boon of a working library of some 14,000 books made the possession of a library building a matter of primary importance—the more so, that the University had now indicated that it wished to resume possession of the whole of Holywell House as soon as was feasible, and that a Society which was known to have

¹ Annual Report, 1930-1.

² 'I will *not* refuse fifteenth-century printing', wrote the Principal. 'It is very good for our young to feel that they own such things.'

a large building benefaction might well turn its attention to finding its own premises.

The architect had been asked to plan the new buildings on a generous scale—to include Hall, Library, and central block containing offices, tutors' rooms, and common rooms. It was becoming necessary to decide which portion of the scheme should have priority.

This brings us to plot No. 2—the bequest to the Society by Mrs. Florence Musgrave of 1 South Parks Road—a large house and garden with a lease of 33 years to run (in 1930).¹ This plot becomes almost a saga, where a disputed will, burst water-pipes, and fungi of rare and terrible colour compete. Unfortunately the bequest was not clearly drawn up, and it was four years before a legal decision was obtained in favour of the Society. The property was then accepted in trust for the Society by the University, which had to pay out over £600 in the way of legal expenses, repairs, &c. The house was let for two years to a tenant who departed leaving the house empty and locked, and with the water not turned off. The winter of 1935-6 was severe, and the natural results—a flood issuing from burst pipes in the house—were discovered by a policeman. Almost nothing was done to deal with the situation and the house was allowed to get into a terrible state of dilapidation. By 1 September 1936, when the tenancy expired, two of the ceilings were so badly damaged as to have to be renewed, plaster and paper were ruined, and fungus was growing over ceilings, walls, and floors.² (The fungus was of an impressive golden colour, and, if I remember rightly, of some special botanical interest.)

These calamities merely served as a stimulus to the Prin-

¹ For this bequest we owe gratitude to Miss Rogers, who interested Mrs. Musgrave in our Society.

² Memorandum to the Delegates, 15 Oct. 1936.

cial's courage and enterprise. The urgent need of a library was now supplemented by an equally urgent need for office and Common Rooms, as the University was clamouring for a speedy evacuation of Jowett Walk. The Society owned a large house, too large to let for private purposes, and therefore only a source of expense, unless a use could be found for it. Why not abandon the scheme (on which hours of planning had been spent) of selling or letting 1 South Parks Road, and convert it into office and Common Rooms? Permission to use the house for this purpose had been rather tardily granted by Merton College, the landlords, in May 1935. As the University was in such need of 'Jowett Walk', we might reasonably hope that it would help us to make the move. An elaborate negotiation was carried on with the Chest, in the course of which the grants made by the University to the Society were weighed in the balance against the rents which it paid and certain capital expenditure which it had incurred. Finally a satisfactory conclusion was reached. The Delegates undertook to move from Jowett Walk as soon as the house in South Parks Road could be got ready, and the Chest promised not only an annual sum towards maintenance but also a generous contribution towards the cost of the move and of redecoration. During the Christmas Vacation of 1936 the Society moved into its new abode, with all its 'effects', except the newly acquired Nettleship Library, which after a laborious reorganization by Miss Bigg, the Librarian, still remained uncomfortably stranded among the intruding waves of the Departments of Geography and Anthropology.

The new house, which was named 'Musgrave' after the testatrix, became at once a vital influence in the life of the Society. If it lacks the beautiful view of New College and St. Mary's spire that was enjoyed from Jowett Walk, and if it is at times rather strongly invaded by the subtle chemical

aromas pervading South Parks Road, it provides both staff and students with some of the space they so long had needed. Two Common Rooms, a quiet room, and a dining-room¹ on the ground floor, and separate rooms for Principal and administrative staff and at least two tutors were in themselves a great gain. The decoration and furnishing of the whole house were supervised with the greatest care and detail by the Principal, whose artistic sense made her delight in the task. She also, with the advice and assistance of Miss Rogers, supervised the laying out and beautifying of the garden. Hundreds of bulbs were planted, and many attractive trees and bushes were presented by, and named after, her friends, so that she could gaily report at the Gaudy that 'Miss Quick was doing nicely, and Miss Moore was becoming quite sturdy'.

This plot had, for the moment, overshot the other, but the two were closely interdependent. The decision as to Musgrave House had made it possible for Delegates and Trustees to concentrate upon the provision of a library, as the first claim upon the Fund. Courage and willingness to take risks were required at every step. The architect's estimate for the whole building was about £65,000; the sum in the Trust was £15,000.

Mrs. Hartland's combined vagueness and generosity were constant and agitating factors in the decisions before the Delegates. Led by an intrepid Principal, who was determined that the new building should be a real contribution to Oxford architecture, they had decided to accept the grand plan, in faith that it would be some time completed. In January 1935, when the Musgrave House solution was near at hand, Sir Giles was asked to plan for the Library as the first part of his scheme for sectional building, and by May 1935 his designs and estimates began to come in. (Miss Bigg sent in a library sketch, which he declared would be most useful in planning out the

¹ Never used for dining.

details.) Much discussion went on both as to the details of the plan—which was finally brought to include two large lecture rooms and tutors' rooms in the tower—and as to the finance which was to cover it. Mrs. Hartland consulted her lawyer as to 'how far we can dip advisably' into the Fund. This was a question on which the Delegates were hardly able to decide. Their generous benefactress had already spent £19,000 on the purchase of the site and the leaseholds. Subject, however, to her consent, they were in favour of a bold decision; they accepted and forwarded the architect's plans to the Trustees, with a statement as to future problems of maintenance. The Trustees confirmed this policy, and promised a maintenance grant of £120 per annum for ten years (Nov. 1935); and the University Chest, anxious to expedite the clearance of the library rooms at Jowett Walk, guaranteed an annual sum of £50 for the same period, and authorized the Delegates to proceed with the scheme.

This help from the University was the more encouraging, because other requests from the Society were already before Council. Not only were there the expenses connected with Musgrave House, the negotiations as to which were at their height, but a three-year correspondence with Council as to an increase in the Government grant to the Society had just reached a climax. Much hard thinking and calculation went on throughout 1936.

An Endowment Fund for building maintenance had been started in 1934 and small sums began to roll in from personal efforts of students, old students, and other friends. These included mending, sales, a dance, a series of whist drives organized by our caretaker, Mrs. Clark, and a memorable party given by the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Norham Gardens, where reverend and distinguished persons played shove-halfpenny with much relish in the good

nuns' garden. As our Chairman, Dr. Norwood, remarked at the Gaudy held in Michaelmas Term, 1936, 'We are lovers of wisdom, combined with economy. A Society with such a spirit as ours—all willing to make sacrifices, and all willing to contribute—is indeed a living Society.' This Gaudy—which happened to coincide with the 'Silver Jubilee' of the Old Students' Association—was made memorable by the presence of our benefactress herself, who, in a speech of great simplicity and charm, invited the company to 'share her pleasure and delight that the scheme was now within sight of becoming a reality'.¹

Mrs. Hartland had her own views as to the architecture of her building, and various alterations were made to satisfy her ambitions. For some time she clung to a proposal of her own that some very attractive stone from her estate at Hardwick should be used. Some of this would be obtained by pulling down some old barns, the rest from quarries belonging to herself. Miss Hadow inspected the stone, and reported it to be 'a nice soft grey, with red lights in it', and Sir Giles sent his manager to look at the barns, which he pronounced to be 'so beautiful that it would be sacrilege to pull them down' (July 1935). The difficulties in using it were so great that the scheme was abandoned, but Mrs. Hartland secured her great desire, a stone-tiled roof, the extra cost of which was covered by the sale of some personal treasures of her own. For this we cannot be too grateful to our good benefactress—though there have been two opinions as to the carved motto below the roof, to which she persuaded our architect to consent at the same time.²

¹ *The Ship*, No. 26, p. 44.

² This motto: *Get knowledge, get riches, but with all thy getting, get understanding*, is not quite correctly quoted from Prov. iv; possibly the insertion of 'riches' into the list of desirable aims was due to the preoccupation with finance which beset the origin of the library! It chimes in with Dr. Norwood's Periclean quotation.

These points settled, the ensuing year was devoted to rapid and strenuous building, with a view to completion by the end of 1937. By September 1937 Miss Hadow could write to Mrs. Hartland:

I have been exploring the Library, and I hope you will like it as much as I do. The colouring of the woodwork is beautiful, and the whole thing has what I always like so much in Sir G. Scott's work, a great simplicity and beauty of line, combined with delightful little touches of detail here and there, for instance, the little ornamentations of the Library doors. The only things I do not at present like are the beavers.

Sir Giles announced that he wished to hand over the building on 27 October. 'This is the first time I have ever known a building handed over *before* it was promised', wrote G. E. H. A little ceremony of handing over the keys took place, and the work of completion was pushed steadily on. No detail was too large or too small to receive the special attention of the distinguished architect. From the iron entrance gates to the letter-box in the door and the cabinet for the card index, all were specially designed. Even the criticisms on the beavers met with attention. 'I was interested to see the legs of your carver in mid air, when I went into the Library the other day' wrote G. E. H. to Sir Giles, 29 Nov. 'I was so startled by them that I forgot to ask whether he was modifying the beavers' cheeks, but I suppose I may take it for granted. You were quite right in saying that I should learn to like them better on better acquaintance. I am developing a decided affection for them.'

Old Students were able to visit the new building at the time of the November Gaudy, and were 'full of pride and delight'. One of them said to me 'I have always been jealous of Somerville, but I never shall be again'. (G. E. H. to Mrs. Hartland, 8 Nov. 1937.)

During the Christmas Vacation the whole Library, including both the Nettleship and the section at Springfield, was moved into its new quarters, and there reorganized with cheerful despatch and efficiency by our new Librarian, Miss Draper. Hilary Term saw its inauguration, preceded by a beautiful little service, called 'The Blessing of the House'. It was taken by Dr. Grensted, assisted by the President of St. John's, who read the Lesson: 'Wisdom hath builded her house'. The hymn 'God be in my head' was sung. A large and representative body of dons and undergraduates attended, including some of the nuns who were Home-Students. Though the formal opening of the building was postponed to the summer term, it was in full use from the middle of January.

Our students [wrote G. E. H. to Sir Giles, 15 Jan. 1938], who are making acquaintance with the Library for the first time, are all enthusiastic about it, and while opinions are still hotly divided about the beavers, everyone is in love with the charming little hart¹ looking out through the trees, and there are no two opinions about the beauty of the Library itself. I find it difficult to do any work, as I want perpetually to be round there, showing off the details of our new possession.

'I hope the anti-beaverites will modify their views on further acquaintance', replied the kindly architect. Again (G. E. H. to Sir Giles, Feb. 1938):

I am really rather horrified to find that the new library is attracting people so much that even on fine sunny afternoons it is full of young women industriously reading. The Librarian tells me that never before has our library been so constantly in use. I think it is rather interesting to see how beautiful surroundings do definitely have an effect on people in their work.

¹ This was designed as a rebus on the name of the benefactress. Mrs. Hartland was so pleased with it that she asked to be given the original cast.

Sir Giles replied: 'It is extraordinarily gratifying to me to learn that the new building seems to be so popular; I am much amused at your expression of horror at the zeal which the library seems to evoke' (2 Feb. 1938).

Miss Hadow next took in hand the planning of the garden at the Woodstock Road entrance, where low stone walling was set up, and rock plants and dwarf roses were planted, and she made special inquiries as to suitable flower-seeds to grow in the long grass under the apple-trees at the unfinished and rather 'plain' end of the new building.

The formal opening of the Library took place on 16 July 1938, in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor,¹ Mrs. Hartland, Sir Giles Scott, Dr. Norwood, President of St. John's (our Chairman), and other Delegates, besides the Principal and tutors, friends, and over 200 Old Students. The sun shone upon the company assembled before the closed doors; speeches were made, thanks uttered to donor, to architect, and to all the Old Students who had contributed to the building fund, 'often at great personal sacrifice'. A silver master-key of the building was presented by the Vice-Chancellor to Mrs. Hartland, who duly unlocked the door 'with all good wishes to all who enter here'. This important ceremony was followed by a more intimate one, the unveiling by the Vice-Chancellor of the memorial to Mrs. Johnson, placed on the inner wall outside the Library itself. To members of the older generation who crowded the landing and staircase, this memorial would mean (said the 'Old Student' who presented the tablet), 'one place in this our house which would be a link with the past we loved and the person we had loved and revered most of all'.² 'More than one personality was commemorated in the New Building', as other speakers pointed out; 'it housed the special

¹ A. D. Lindsay, M.A., Master of Balliol College.

² The *Ship*, No. 28, pp. 22-7.

Geldart Library and there was to be a tablet in memory of Professor Geldart.' 'I am proud', said Dr. Norwood, 'to say a word in memory of a great scholar, a great teacher of the law—whose pupil I was for a short time.' There was Mrs. T. H. Green, also, whose house and garden were part of our 'site'—Mrs. Green, who, as the Vice-Chancellor reminded us, 'saw the whole progress of women's education and the growth of its closer connexion with the University here'.

Another traditional element in Home-Student history was also represented on this great day. The connexion with the U.S.A. was an ancient one—dating back to the very earliest days of the Society. It had been strengthened by many ties; first by the American graduates, who were content to come and learn from Oxford scholars in the friendly and 'unregimented' days, before Oxford gave degrees to women; since 1920 by an increasing number of students, anxious not only for scholarship but for its formal rewards. At the time of this opening ceremony there was actually a considerable number of American women graduates in Oxford attending a 'Summer School', organized for them by the five Women's Societies; and these had been invited to attend as guests, and were given a special welcome by the Principal, who mentioned the warm messages and kind gifts that had been received from the 300 'Old Students' in the U.S.A. Smith College had sent £100 towards the Building Fund, and one Old Student, Mrs. Nelson Morris, was suggesting further channels of assistance.

So much detail has been given here, from a desire to revive for later generations the sense of distinction and of joy that filled our hearts in that summer of 1938—to depict a state of leisure and of peace in which architect and Principal could write personal letters over the endless small details that go to make perfection, and could chuckle over little incidents and touches of human nature. 'Architects', said Sir Giles on



SIR GILES SCOTT'S DESIGN (1936) FOR THE NEW BUILDING

(Only the first block and tower have been built as yet)



THE DEAN OF DEGREES (R. F. B.) AND MATRICULATION CANDIDATES OUTSIDE MUSGRAVE HOUSE,
MICHAELMAS TERM, 1941

16 July, 'aim at knowledge and understanding; they never get riches, but they must be students of psychology.' In the present-day world of 'permits' and 'prefabs', these words seem the echo of a golden age.

The Society, as a whole, had a strong sense of achievement and of hopefulness. The last few years had seen an increasing prominence in Oxford of Home-Students, both in the Schools and in the social and athletic life of the undergraduate world.¹ Their confidence in themselves as a Society had increased (evincing itself in the recurrent request for a change of title for the Society—a request that still met with refusal by the authorities). And this confidence was felt by all to centre round the Principal, who had, so to speak, *explained* the Society not only to Oxford but to the world outside. This was due not to deliberate propaganda—Grace Hadow was innately unfitted for the trumpeter's part—but to her own brilliance and versatility, to the readiness with which she accepted the many tasks offered to her, and the charm and efficiency with which she discharged them. The Principal of the Society of Oxford Home-Students was well known in many a girls' school as a favourite orator for speech-days; and her membership of committees was legendary. Among the chief of these were the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, the General Advisory Council on Adult Education of the B.B.C., the Executive Committee of the National Council of Social Service, the Rural Industries Bureau, and the Oxfordshire Education Committee. (In this last, she was carrying on an old tradition of the Society, for Mrs. Johnson had served on it for very many years.)

As a climax to these many demands upon the Principal's

¹ Perhaps 1933 had really been our high-light of this period, when Home-Students not only achieved three 'Firsts', but also one University scholarship ('the Winter Williams') and two prizes—the Chancellor's English Essay (Mother Maude), and the Arnold Historical Essay (M. I. Munro).

time and energy came two invitations to tour the world as a speaker. First was the proposal, sent through Mrs. Nelson Morris and the American Federation of University Women, to arrange a lecture-tour of Women's Colleges in America, with the object of raising money for the Building Endowment Fund. Though asking for money was never easy for G. E. H., she agreed at once, feeling that the opportunities for cementing friendship with our American counterparts would be many. Almost simultaneously came a suggestion from the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, that she should join, as a woman delegate, in a Conference on British Commonwealth Relations, which they were organizing in Sydney in September 1938. 'The sudden invitation to undertake something new and of so interesting a kind roused all Grace Hadow's enterprise and appealed to her sense of romance.' 'I feel I must do this queer job', was her phrase; and this feeling would be strengthened by the fact that it chanced to be herself who was selected as the sole woman delegate for Great Britain.¹ She applied for leave of absence during Michaelmas Term to the Delegates, by whom it was granted with the ready recognition that the Society must pay the price for the possession of so distinguished a Head. The two objects of the tour were fitted together at the cost of some alteration in the American programme, and of almost superhuman energy on the part of the Principal. In Sydney she was Chairman of the first meeting of the Conference, and the profound impression made by 'the impact of a unique personality' is described by Mr. James Dillon, one of the Irish Delegates. 'I remember', he writes, 'the growing sense of amazement and admiration around the table as Miss Hadow established herself to be a quite exceptionally competent

¹ *Grace Hadow* (Deneke), p. 182. The whole tour is admirably sketched in chapter xiii.

Chairman, not only in her conduct of the meeting, but in the strange influence of sincerity and effectiveness which she diffused throughout the whole company.¹ In New Zealand she had the unusual experience of being greeted by a special dance by the Maori tribe of the late Home-Student, the Chieftainess Makareti. In America, where she landed on 4 October, her arrival just followed the end of the 'Munich Crisis', and she was bombarded with inquiries as to the international position. 'If I were to announce lectures on the situation in Europe, I should make a fortune', she wrote; and her addresses to students often turned into discussion of international politics. She was characteristically quick to appreciate the quality of the young people with whom she came in touch.

I must have spoken [she said in her report to the Delegates] to some thousands of students in districts ranging from the deep South to New England. In every case, the moment I touched on international understanding I found a quality of attention different from anything I had ever experienced. I am quite certain that at the present moment there are opportunities for drawing England and America together such as have never existed before.²

Thus, quite unexpectedly, a lecture tour of women's colleges by an Oxford University woman became a much larger thing—an opportunity for an exceptionally gifted Englishwoman to explain her country to America.

Financially the results of the tour were not very important, barely £200 being earned by Miss Hadow in actual fees. Physically, the whole was an achievement for a woman well over 60 years, and it is doubtful if she ever fully recovered from the strain. (In six weeks she visited twenty-two colleges in the United States for formal lectures and discussions, and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

² Report to the Delegates on visits to Australia and United States (19 Jan. 1939).

made visits also to Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal, travelling some 11,000 miles in all in North America.) But the Society may always be proud of the work that she did in this moment of crisis and of the deep impression left wherever she passed by her ability and noble personality.

The next six months passed in that strange outward calm to which we now look back as to another age. Two First Classes were obtained in the Schools; Miss G. H. Tayler performed the striking feat of winning the Davis Chinese Scholarship; and Miss Dorothy Garrod—who came to us originally from Cambridge to take an Oxford B.Sc., conferred lustre on her adopted Society by qualifying for the Doctorate in Science (Oxford) and being appointed Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge. She was the first woman to hold a professorship at one of the older universities. The annual Gaudy took the form of a Garden Party at Springfield at the end of the Summer Term—a delightfully informal occasion at which the Principal talked about her tour, and groups discussed plans for ‘money-raising’ for the Building Fund. We parted (10 June 1939) with the optimistic decision to hold another Gaudy in June 1940.

One looks back and tries to recall how Oxford—and our own Society—reacted to the impact of war. In many things the impressions would serve for any town in the south of England—the invasion of evacuees; the preoccupation with ‘blacking out’; removal of treasures and stained windows; sandbags and A.R.P. notices in all directions. The mingling of the small and the heroic in these early months of war is vividly depicted by G. E. H. in a letter to the *Ship* at the end of 1939.¹

What of war-time Oxford? It certainly is a very strange place. First came the whisper of colleges being taken over by various Government departments. Since *The Times* has given away the

¹ *The Ship*, No. 29.

secret that one ancient foundation which housed sections of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries is now widely known as 'Fish and Chips', it cannot be a contravention of the Official Secrets Act to mention this. There were the inevitable delays and discussions and uncertainties. At one moment Somerville was to move into New College; now it has been left in possession of half the college while the other half has become a home for nurses. St. Hugh's remains empty and waiting for unacademic occupation, while meanwhile it has taken possession of Holywell Manor, which had been restored as a hostel for Balliol undergraduates. We are a pleasant jumble of civil servants, of officials and clerks from London offices of various kinds, and of academic Oxford. At Musgrave House we have the pleasure of housing the office of the Hospital Almoners' Association and found, to our surprise and delight, that its second-in-command, Miss Burges, is an old Home-Student. If you go into an Oxford restaurant, at one table you hear the usual Oxford chat about lectures and dons and rugby, and, at the next, conversation which takes anyone used to a Government department back to an earlier phase of life, with hot debates as to whether Mr. So-and-so got a bun with his tea, or how bad a temper old Thingummy was in when there was a mistake in his typing.

Many more men undergraduates have come up than was at first expected, since the Government is, very wisely, not calling up boys of 18 and therefore nearly all the freshmen who had been expected have come up. The gaps in the women's colleges are largely caused by the disappearance of students from overseas. We, I am sorry to say, have lost all our Americans but one. There were three students who married in vacation instead of coming back to finish their career here, and a few people went down to take up whole-time war jobs. With the very large number of qualified women who have been thrown out of work by the war, particularly by evacuation, it is, however, obviously better that girls who can afford to stay on at the University should complete their training here rather than go out to block an already overstocked labour market. A number of our students took part in

various forms of National Service in the part of vacation that remained after war broke out: some worked on the land, some at temporary work in Government offices here until the regular staff could be moved to Oxford, and many helped with evacuated children.

Evacuated children and their mothers deserve not a paragraph but a section to themselves. An addition to the strange elements in Oxford were the seething crowds of excited small people with strong Cockney accents, who are still to be found in many parts of the city, and at first, numbers of obviously East End mothers pushing prams, or with toddlers attached, who strolled, rather sadly, up and down 'the Corn', obviously thinking it not a patch on the Mile End Road. The women's colleges have each of them adopted one of the evacuated schools and undergraduates are trying to relieve over-worked teachers and hostesses by helping to entertain the children and look after them on Saturdays and Sundays. Our school is the Sacred Heart Convent School from Hammersmith. It is especially appropriate that this should be so since for the last ten years we have always had some of the nuns of that Order among our undergraduates and their house in Norham Gardens is a very essential part of the Society. Until term began we were able to lend them the lecture rooms at the new building and it gave me a little bit of a shock at first to hear small people talking about going to 'School', and finding that it meant our august new building.

Apart from help with evacuated children, our students in their spare time are working at Red Cross sewing parties, attending lectures on home nursing and first aid, and knitting quantities of blankets from scraps of wool for evacuated children, refugees and, should the necessity arise, for prisoners of war. A.R.P. wardens and air-raid shelters form the staple of our conversation here as elsewhere.

What will remain with all of us, as a wonderful and beautiful outcome of war conditions, is the sight of Oxford in the full moon, with no artificial light to disturb its peace, with the ugly or incongruous buildings softened to a mere black mass and with Magdalen

Tower and St. Mary's spire steeped in a radiance infinitely more lovely than any flood-lighting. To walk round Oxford on a moonlight night under present conditions is an experience never to be forgotten, and is to come back with a strange sense of serenity and immortality.

These characteristic words proved to be the Principal's last message to the Society. In January 1940, after a strenuous Christmas, she went to London, where she caught a virulent type of pneumonia and died after a fortnight's illness, leaving her many friends and her Society almost bewildered by the loss of so great a leader in a time of such need. Her funeral was impressive, typical of one who had touched life at so many points. St. Mary's was filled to overflowing—not only with University officials, and with Delegates and tutors, but with tiers of undergraduates in the gallery, and representatives of Women's Institutes and other bodies which she had served permeating everywhere like a tide.

Above all remained an ineffaceable impression of greatness, not only in mind but in character.

The dignified resolution, passed by the Delegates, recorded not only 'their deep sorrow at the death of the Principal in the maturity of her powers', but also their sense of the 'greatness of the gain which has come to the Society through the Principal's devotion and loyalty, the value of her experienced leadership and the power of her example'. Letters from Old Students came even closer in appreciation. 'Our Miss Hadow', wrote a quondam refugee, 'always, to use the words of a German poet, looked at the stars, though she did mind the roads man's feet have to pace.' 'She found life good and lived it nobly', wrote a nun from America, and again 'I cannot think of anything about her that was not great'.

When, in due time, a tablet was erected in the University Church, her friends found their best memorial to Grace Hadow

in the words of the author of *Wisdom*: 'Wisdom, which is the worker of all things, taught me; for in her is an understanding spirit, holy, subtil, clear in utterance, quick, steadfast, ready to do good.'

III

1940-6

THE HON. ELEANOR PLUMER, PRINCIPAL

A NINE months' interregnum followed, during which the Society was administered by Miss M. D. R. Leys, who had succeeded Miss R. F. Butler as Vice-Principal in 1938. Her experience as Acting-Principal during the autumn of Miss Hadow's tour—an autumn of many rumours and anxieties in Oxford as well as in the nation at large—had been a valuable training for the duties now suddenly thrust upon her. Our Society owed much to her firm and sympathetic guidance in these sad and difficult months.

In October 1940 the reins were taken over by the new Principal (who had been appointed in the previous Hilary Term), the Honourable Eleanor Mary Plumer, daughter of the famous Field-Marshal. One of 'that small group¹ of brilliant students of King's College for Women who took the English Honour School externally when this was permissible', she brought to the service of her 'educational godmother' the equipment of a rich experience first as Secretary of King's College for Women (1910-14), then as English Lecturer and Tutor for Women Students at King's College, London (after the amalgamation of the two colleges), as Sub-Warden—later as Warden—of the Mary Ward Settlement in Tavistock Place, and finally as Warden for four years of St. Andrew's Hall, the largest hostel for Women Students at Reading University. She had served also on the Advisory Committee

¹ Miss H. D. Oakeley; *Oxford*, vol. vii, No. 1, p. 11. (This group included Miss M. L. Lee, so long English Tutor to our Society.)

under the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927, and had been appointed by the Home Office as their representative on the Governing Body of the British Film Institute (1937). She had taken an active part also in the work of the Church for public morality.

In her life and upbringing alike and in character the new Principal was well fitted to guide the Society through the troublous times of war.

They are times which it is not easy for the historian to describe. All who are old enough to remember the two great wars of our time would probably agree that it is easier to present a clear picture of the first than of the second. And this is due to lack of perspective not only in time, but also in experience. The commonplace 'We are all in it' applied to us even in Oxford. There was not the same poignant distinction between soldier and civilian as in the earlier war; nor the same agony that followed the rush of Oxford's flower into the volunteer army of 1914. Soberly and thoughtfully our ancient University prepared herself for the struggle, and determined to offer the best service that was in her.

Inevitably there were questionings both among young and old—women as well as men—as to the claims of National Service. As far back as 1938 senior members of the University had been asked to fill up registration cards, stating what work of national importance they would be willing to undertake in the event of war. These were sent in through the University, but tutors were informed that the Vice-Chancellor must be consulted before they undertook government work. This registration did not apply to military service. When war came, the call to arms came first, naturally, to the man undergraduate, but the National Service Acts prevented a repetition of the wholesale rush to arms of 1914. There was not the same belief in a short and glorious war. The University did

its best to adapt itself to the national needs. But there were constant changes in the age of the 'call-up', and before long the whole system of war examinations and degrees became almost incredibly complicated. Was it worth while, Oxford might ask herself, to go on with the piece-meal education of mere boys, who knew themselves destined to the Forces and whose hopes of completing their degrees after the war might seem but shadowy?

A quotation from a letter of our Chancellor, Lord Halifax, read by the Vice-Chancellor in his annual speech (Oct. 1940) gave some answers to such doubts.

I should like to take this opportunity of letting you know how highly I value the educational work which the University is doing at this present crisis. . . . For boys between school age and calling-up it is the best possible preparation for the time which most of them will spend in His Majesty's Forces and for the further services which in later years they will render to their country and to mankind.

But all minds were full of recent epic events—Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain—and the Vice-Chancellor¹ added some noble words of his own, by which we are glad to remember him:

Let us remind ourselves of those Oxford men, some so lately in this place, who in the air, on land and on the sea have spent themselves in action. The cause they died for is so rooted in the very virtue of our natures, that we could as soon believe that mercy and truth can be destroyed as that it should fail.

This was the background of thought and of system against which the woman undergraduate lived her life. She too had her problems of conflicting duties, and at first received less definite direction than her brother. As has been already related, the majority of women students had returned to Oxford

¹ (The late) G. S. Gordon, M.A., President of Magdalen College.

at the outset of war. In 1940 it was announced that women volunteering for the Services would be allowed the same conditions as men as to residence for a war degree (i.e. three¹ terms). At first only the uniformed Services were included in this category—all other cases being considered individually. By 1943 five extra categories had been added: teaching, training for teaching, professional training for certain types of social service, employment as scientists in industry, and employment in a government department in an administrative or professional capacity. In April 1941 came the Registration for Employment Order and with it a direct statement that 'Women University students would best serve the national interest by completing their course of study'. It was subsequently arranged that women students who registered should, one month after the termination of their course, be asked by the Employment Exchange whether they had found work or were undertaking a course of 'vocational training', in which case they would be 'written off'. Only in cases where students had made no plans for obtaining work or training were they to be summoned for interviews. 'Experience has shown [wrote Miss Plumer in her letter to the *Ship* of 1941] that every Home-Student who went down in the summer has obtained work or is undergoing training for a recognized profession.'² These exact statements by the Ministry of Labour were obtained through the agency of our Principal who, early in her career at Oxford, established her position as a specialist on the woman student in her relation to the 'call-up'. For long there were critics of the accepted policy; the inequality between the duties laid upon men and upon women students was stressed with some bitterness, and weighed heavily no doubt upon some tender consciences. But common sense showed the inequalities of nature, and good

¹ Later increased to five terms.

² The *Ship*, No. 31, p. 7.

citizenship accepted the country's decision as to the role of its women in war-time—a decision that seemed just, as well as practical, and undoubtedly tended to long-term stability.

When women were 'called up' under the National Service Act of 1942, women tutors were definitely exempted, and our Society's teaching staff remained at their work while combining with it countless voluntary activities. To many students of this period their most vivid picture of their Principal and of some tutors must be in the uniform of an air-raid warden. But no woman student—unless a medical—was from this date to be allowed to remain in residence after the year in which she became 20. 'This involved a two-year course for all normal undergraduates, though by a fresh regulation in 1943 a few were accepted who came up at 17 and thus secured three years. One year of professional training after graduation was permitted for teachers and some others.'¹

By October 1944 only twenty-one candidates under 18 had actually been admitted, and the Delegates rescinded the special permission to the Principal to admit such young students. The pressure for admission to the Society continued nearly as great as ever, and entrance and scholarship examinations were held regularly, though interviewing candidates was not always possible. In May 1944 the Board of Education made an agreement with the Ministry of Labour by which a third year at a University could be claimed by second-year women students who intended to teach. This change complicated the regular yearly intake of new students, and in Michaelmas Term 1944 Council authorized the addition of twenty to our statutory number of 220 undergraduates. It also complicated the course of study of the students whose time was unexpectedly extended, and added to the difficulties of tutors.

¹ [M. D. R. Leys.]

A final survey of the students of the war period reveals the fact that only one annual 'entry' actually resided for only the minimum two years.

The dependence of her position upon the national needs was thus realized almost as clearly, though less forcibly, by the woman as by the man undergraduate. She would probably have welcomed an even closer similarity. Not content with miscellaneous and unregulated war activities, the women of all five Societies subjected themselves voluntarily to a system of 'compulsory' war-work. This was organized by themselves, on the basis of a six-hours minimum for each of the weeks of term, and included such jobs as ambulance driving, V.A.D. work at the Radcliffe Infirmary, 'Digging for Victory' in the Parks, in Port Meadow, and in hostesses' allotments, working in canteens, and attending courses of training in home nursing, A.R.P., and child welfare. A camouflage-netting centre was run at Cherwell Edge; and help was given with evacuee children, and at centres for children of working mothers. This self-conscription was taken quite seriously, and adhered to throughout the war period. It could not of course be at all equated with the military training exacted from men undergraduates in the O.U. Senior Training Corps—either in physical demands or in the extent to which it interfered with reading and lectures. Nor was 'fire-watching' in vacation demanded of women students by their colleges to the same extent as of the men—and not at all of Home-Students (though many of them did A.R.P. work at home in vacations). But fire-watching in University buildings was shared pretty equally between the two sexes, both in term and in vacation.¹

One opportunity for war work our Society owed to the initiative of the Principal, who in the autumn of 1942 arranged

¹ See *infra*, p. 101.

with Morris Motors for the establishment of a small 'out-department' of their munition work in one of the ground-floor rooms of the Library Building. Here, term in and term out, there met for four hours a day parties consisting not only of undergraduates (many of whom found the long spells too hard to fit in) but of senior members of the University (including Miss Burrows and various tutors), and of resident 'housewives' from all parts of Oxford, who were glad to find a piece of war-work (sedentary, though otherwise exacting), which they could fit into their laborious days. The work was directed by a trained forewoman, but was organized and inspired by Miss Plumer, who proved herself, it was reported, a most competent manual worker and a good pace-setter.

In two years this 'diluted female labour' (as it was known officially)

inspected 6,789,000 fusecaps, to the satisfaction of the firm and of the Government authorities. In fact the total output per hour was adjudged to be considerably above the average. In November 1944, when Morris's contract for this work came to an end, the workroom and workers were taken over by the Central Ordnance Depot (Didcot), and did packing of tools and equipment for the Far East for 10 months.¹

Members of the Society decided to put their wages into a pool, to which many of the seventy other workers also contributed, with the result that £482 was distributed to various war charities. The story is an interesting and unforeseen episode in the history of our much-prized Library.

A great variety of vacation work was undertaken by all women students all over the country, such as harvesting, farm work, and factory work. One specially notable achievement should be recorded—a holiday camp for London children at Leverstock Green organized and run with great courage and

¹ Miss Plumer, the *Ship*, No. 35, p. 5.

efficiency by undergraduates of our Society during the eventful summer of 1941. Other calls for service required a more cold-blooded courage. One party of women students spent a period working in a Royal Ordnance factory, living in the workers' hostel, and submitting to medical tests, in order to assist in an investigation by the Medical Research Council into the incidence of T.N.T. poisoning. A similar service of a valuable nature was spread over a much longer period. To quote once more from the Principal's annual letter in the *Ship*:

It is not an exaggeration to say that the success of the campaigns in Southern Europe and in the Far East and Pacific areas will depend on the effective suppression of malaria by medication. As, owing to Japanese conquests, quinine is no longer available, research into alternative substances has been going on. Practical tests were necessary and the Women's Colleges in Oxford were chosen as the scene. Students offering themselves were required to take a small and safe dose of a substance once a day for a period up to eight months. The required number were forthcoming and went through with the experiment with great courage and determination, quite undismayed by the effects which, though harmless, were not pleasant or becoming, countenances ranging in colour from pale lemon to deep orange being the outward and visible sign which marked out the volunteers. The results were of the greatest importance and the authorities expressed themselves as much impressed by the whole-hearted response which Oxford University made to their appeal.¹

The standard of work was well maintained. Life at the University probably seemed less unreal to the women than to the men. Social distractions were fewer than in peace-time, and the difficulty of reading in war-time homes in vacation was met by a considerable amount of vacation 'residence'. Should any student feel inclined to misuse her privileged position, she had the knowledge that a terminal report was

¹ The *Ship*, No. 34, pp. 4-5.

required for each student by the Ministry of Labour. The absence of the younger men tutors and of some of the women, and the 'shortened courses', affected the quality of the work to a certain extent. Those who failed in examinations were sent down, but such discipline was seldom necessary, the students showing themselves as a whole sensible and cheerfully resolute, and imbued with a strong feeling of responsibility.

'Schools' results were good; five Firsts were achieved both in 1942 and 1944, some of them in 'shortened courses'. Athletics became of less and less importance; in fact there was hardly time for them. But the interest of the undergraduates in their own Society was shown by a remarkable resolution passed at their General Meeting in January 1942, that a gift of 10s. a term should be added to their terminal fees for the benefit of the new building. This offer was gladly accepted by the Delegates, and a sum of over £600 has been added thus to the Endowment Fund by the end of 1946.

A steadily increasing number entered the Forces on going down. Even in 1940 one Old Student (A. Locke) was driving an army ambulance in France; another, C. Savery, was at the H.Q. of the Advanced Air Striking Force in Rheims, and was evacuated with the B.E.F. at the time of 'Dunkirk'. In August 1941 an Old Student, C. Ogle, Second Officer W.R.N.S., was reported missing at sea. So far as is known she is the only member of the Society who lost her life when on active service—but it has not been possible to compile full lists either of casualties or of members serving. In November 1943 the Principal reported to the Delegates that about 100 ex-undergraduates were in the Women's Forces. But very many were serving in Government departments or in factories, teaching, nursing, doing social work and 'A.R.P.', and it is impossible to make any real classification of occupations as exclusively 'War Work'. What of those who were doctors in London or

drivers in London during the blitz?; or those countless others who were serving in shelters, acting as A.R.P. wardens, and helping with homeless families?; or those (often with small children to care for) who played their part in scattered places of the Empire? Their story is part of the general proud record of England's women in war-time.

If we are to pick out one type of calamity that more than another proved the supreme value of University education, it was perhaps life as a prisoner of war. An interesting letter by 'Signalman' in *Oxford*¹ records the fact.

I can think of no better advertisement for a liberal education than the fact of my survival. I am but relating sober truth when I say that this was the experience of nearly all the educated men I met [in a Prison Camp in Malaya]; and that it was noticeable that those with cultural interests had a zest and a drive and a staying power that was tragically lacking in so many of the so-called 'practical people'.

Exactly this view was stressed by an old Home-Student (M. Thomas) who, having remained voluntarily at Singapore to help in Red Cross work, spent the following years in prison camps, where she learnt to paint, and ran a camp paper (soon banned by the Japanese), returning full of spirit and verve despite her privations.

To come back to the everyday life of our Society at home. There were other difficult problems to be solved by the new Principal, besides those directly arising out of the war. Important changes in the character of the Society marked the first six years of Miss Plumer's rule, changes in title and in residence, and to a considerable extent in personnel.

The first Delegacy meeting attended by the new Principal was faced by an urgent demand for a change in the name of

¹ *Oxford*, vol. ix, No. 1.

the Society. This, as has been shown already, was no new request; but the idea of a change had been very painful to Mrs. Johnson, whose devotion to the original title¹ was shared by most old students of her time. After her death in 1927 the movement grew in force. The story may be given here in the words of Miss Leys, who, not being herself an old Home-Student, could regard the matter dispassionately.

As more and more posts of different kinds became available for women graduates, members of the Society found that outside academic circles the name of the Society gave rise to misunderstanding. In 1934 the undergraduates began a formal agitation for a change, pointing out that only a small proportion of them actually lived in their own homes, and that the approved houses where they resided were not precisely 'homes'. The men non-collegiate students had for some time adopted St. Catherine as the patron of their sports clubs, and in 1931 their official title had been changed to St. Catherine's Society. This made it clear that the University had no rooted objection to a change of name. The Tutors' Meeting and the Delegates discussed the matter, and a request for opinions on the subject was sent out to former students. Miss R. F. Butler sent out at the same time a private circular pointing out the disadvantages of a break with tradition. These disadvantages were very apparent to some tutors, themselves old students, and those old members who replied to the circular were predominantly against a change. The proposal was therefore dropped, but, as a slight concession to feeling, permission was given in 1935 for the use of the title 'St. Hilary's' for undergraduate clubs. The name never really established itself.

No doubt one reason for opposition was the difficulty of finding a name which in any way embodied the tradition of Mrs. Johnson. No one could suggest a name with any obvious relation to the character and history of the Home-Students. For some years the question was not publicly mooted, though it remained in the minds of the undergraduates and the tutors. Then in 1940 a formal

¹ See vol. i, pp. 17, 24, 97.

petition from ten B.A.s was submitted to the Delegacy. The arguments put forward were the same as those raised on previous occasions:

1. That the name was definitely inaccurate, the majority of students living in hostels or large houses managed for them by hostesses.
2. That outside Oxford it gave rise to misapprehensions, the most usual being (*a*) that it was a correspondence college through which people could get some sort of external degree; (*b*) that it was a school of domestic science; (*c*) that it was a body of external students somehow attached to a college.

Once again old students were circularized (without any private expression of opinion), and the replies were almost unanimously in favour of a change. A great number of examples were given which showed that the explanations which had to be made when application was made for a post were a very real handicap—one wrote that if she had said she came from 'Girton College, Oxford' no question would have been raised, but she was cross-questioned as to the meaning of Home-Students and her explanations received with some doubt. People were asked to provide a certificate of a degree that was never demanded of old students of the colleges. Continually they found they were looked on as definitely inferior, no matter what their academic record of distinction.

So far as application for membership went the same disadvantage was apparent. Headmistresses had sometimes asked for a girl to be accepted for a year, until she could be transferred to a college, a concession which was never allowed by our regulations. It was rare for girls of ability to put the Society as their first choice when seeking entrance.

In 1941 a sub-committee of the Delegacy, the Tutors' Meeting, and the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Delegacy all reported in favour of a change. The proposed name was Hartland Hall, in accordance with the wish of our benefactress Mrs. Hartland. Council, however, decided that the title of College or Hall could not be permitted. 'Hartland Society' was felt to suffer from the same disadvantages as would have attended 'Johnson

Society'—that it might merely suggest a learned body like the Camden Society. A saint's name was suggested and after long discussion St. Anne was chosen.¹

Once the change was made, it was generally accepted with surprising ease. Even the slight disadvantage which was anticipated from the inability to use the title College or Hall was got over by applicants for posts merely saying 'St. Anne's' when asked the name of their College. Though the change was purely external, it was only in externals that the name mattered at all, and there is no doubt that the effects have been beneficial and in my opinion have not led to any break in tradition or reputation.

Council accepted the Delegates' recommendation, and proposed various amendments in 'Titulus xxiii', giving effect to the change. These were passed by Congregation on 3 March 1942, and received the assent of the King in Council on 13 July 1942, on which date the translation of the Home-Students into St. Anne's Society became an accomplished fact.

Among the 'consequential changes' in the Statute was the insertion of 'St. Anne's' after the four colleges in the 'Schedule' of recognized Societies of Women Students, each with its prescribed maximum of undergraduates. This is an interesting piece of re-classification, as the constitution of the Society has not been altered by the change of title, and the number of its students is still, presumably, based on somewhat different reasons from those applying to the Colleges.

One other point may be noted—the immense improvement

¹ Various reasons have been given for the choice. 'St. Anne's' had been suggested by one of the Delegates, with a half-serious reference to Miss Rogers, in 1935 when the name 'St. Hilary's' had been authorized for the athletic clubs. Its ultimate adoption was probably due as much to the fact that there was absolutely nothing against it. The choice at least satisfied the requirement once laid down by Miss Rogers herself: 'You don't want to suggest an aversion to marriage, which was characteristic of so many of the saints.' That a Society which held its corporate service in St. Mary's Church should be named after the Mother of the Blessed Virgin was appropriate; and it is an interesting fact that there was once a Chapel of St. Anne in the University Church.

in the Latin version of our name. No one can question the superiority of 'Societas Sanctae Annae' to the old version which added so much to the labours of Public Examiners and Deans of Degrees, and undoubtedly gave a chance to the scoffer. *The Times* obituary on Dr. Blakiston (President of Trinity, 1901-38) gave an interesting side-light on this version. He had long opposed 'Women's Degrees', but, being Vice-Chancellor in 1920,

he could signify his disapproval only when the Latin style of the Women's Societies was submitted to his judgement.¹ With every weapon of scholarship he rejected successive versions of 'The Society of Oxford Home-Students', and finally saddled that body himself with a title that was found to read, in its abbreviated form, as 'Soc. mul. Ox. priv. stud.' Blakiston rarely went down without a parting shot.²

As has been said already, the real force behind the demand to abandon the old title of 'Home-Students' was the fact that it was no longer a true description for the majority of those who bore it.³ The number of those who really lived in their own homes had fallen to about twenty-five by 1940. This was a greater proportional than actual decrease, resulting from the great increase in our total numbers. The same factor began to cause difficulties in finding enough private 'homes' in which students could be received. The original source of supply—the houses of University dons, living in the ordinary large house of the period, and glad to fill their rooms during school terms when children were away—was not sufficient to meet the new demand; even Miss Hadow, though as we have seen⁴ she appreciated the benefits of the hostess system, was con-

¹ Cf. vol. i, p. 97.

² *The Times*, 30 July 1942.

³ The same criticism might be applied to other venerable titles, e.g. New College.

⁴ *Ante*, pp. 49-50.

vinced of the need of some hostel accommodation as well. The war appeared at once to threaten our system with disaster. 'I stand with a flaming sword on our hostesses' doorsteps', Miss Hadow had written in October 1939, 'shooing away Civil Servants and lawyers and the "brutal and licentious soldiery" whom billeting officers try to thrust upon them.' But it was not by attacks from any of these quarters that our hostesses were taken from us; rather by the silent social revolution that has overwhelmed the upper-class homes of England. As Miss Plumer describes it, 'Domestic problems, shopping difficulties, queues, the disappearance of domestic help, evacuees, made the life of hostesses intolerable. Large houses were turned into flats, or, without conversion, were occupied by several families. Hostesses were busy with war work. Fewer and fewer were willing to take students. Faced with this difficulty, the only solution before the Delegates seemed to be to run hostels of their own. [The existing hostels were, as we have already seen, financed not by the Delegates, but by several religious communities.] For this, capital was required, and the Society had none to lay out. A beginning was made through the generous offer of two anonymous friends to buy and furnish a house to be run as a hostel for St. Anne's students. "St. Anne's House" was opened in Michaelmas Term 1945 at 11 Bradmore Road; in the following January it was granted the status of hostel; and three other hostels have since been acquired. The opening of these houses has relieved the housing problem very greatly, and has been of great benefit to the corporate life of the Society. It fits in with the trend of public opinion. The majority of students prefer to live in a group rather than in a private house, and as long as domestic help is non-existent and housing and rationing difficulties remain, new hostesses are unlikely to be forthcoming.'

In the Delegates' Report (1946-7) the residential position is summarized as follows:

Mich. Term 1946:

In their own homes or with guardians	.	.	51
In other private houses	.	.	85
In hostels	.	.	120
In lodgings	.	.	5
TOTAL			261

The year 1945, so momentous in world history, was marked by an event of great importance to the Society, the death of Mrs. Amy Hartland on 2 October. In her will she left the whole of her estate, apart from a few small legacies, to St. Anne's Society. Even after the payment of heavy death, succession, and estate duties, it is hoped that the whole sum received will be about £80,000, which will amply secure the completion of the next section of the building. The estate is not yet finally wound up, but the fund was handed over to the University, to hold in trust for the Society, by a Decree passed 3 July 1946. Together with Mrs. Hartland's previous gift of the site and Library the whole forms one of the largest benefactions ever made to a Women's Society in this country.

The bequest, it may be noted, is distinct from the original Hartland Trust, and its administration will be in the hands, not of Trustees, but of St. Anne's Delegates. No conditions whatsoever were laid down by the testatrix, but she had made it clear in her lifetime that her main desire was the erection of a central building, and the Delegates at once decided to give first place to the completion of the original design. At the same time they felt themselves entitled to use some of the free capital to assist in the housing provision for students, in which Mrs. Hartland was also known to have been interested. The three other houses mentioned above were purchased and set

up as hostels—recognized by the Delegacy of Lodgings—each under the direction of a ‘Warden’ selected by a Hostels Sub-Committee of the Delegates of St. Anne’s. They are to be known respectively as St. Anne’s Lodge (9 Park Town), St. Anne’s Hostel (160 Banbury Road), and Hartland Lodge (50 Woodstock Road). The name of our benefactress, which is thus commemorated in one of our hostels, has also been prefixed to our Library Building, now generally known in Oxford as Hartland House. The Delegates hope, moreover, to found at least one post-graduate scholarship, to be known as the ‘Amy Georgina Hartland Scholarship’. St. Anne’s, which produced the first woman student for a Research Certificate, and has always encouraged this class of student, will thus for the first time have some endowment for research.

Our architectural future partakes of the general post-war uncertainty. Sir Giles Scott is willing and eager to complete the new building,¹ as soon as permission and materials are available. The position is thus summed up by the Principal:

The building, as we all know, falls roughly into three parts, of which one part is finished. The next part to be undertaken contains the common rooms, administrative rooms, caretaker’s flat. I expect that the internal arrangements will need a good deal of modification when we get down to them but the external plan does not seem to need alteration. The third and last part contains the Hall. When this is built it will involve pulling down 35 Banbury Road, as it will come right up against the back windows. It is unlikely that we should get permission to pull down a dwelling-house, or that we should wish to, for a good many years to come, so I foresee that the last bit of the building will have to wait for at least several years. There is no reason why we should not go on with the next block,

¹ The original Library block has already received much praise. W. J. Arkell (*Oxford Stone*, p. 118) ranks it as ‘perhaps the most beautiful modern building in Oxford’, affording ‘a good example of jumper-work masonry carried out most skilfully in hammer-dressed Bladon walling’.

and we shall, as soon as licences and permits can be obtained. When this will be, it is impossible to tell.

The reasons for being anxious to get on with the next block as soon as possible are that it is obviously inconvenient being administratively in two places, and a good deal of time is wasted by dons and students going backwards and forwards between Musgrave House and Hartland House. We also badly need more tutorial rooms, which the new building will have. It will provide a dignified setting and centre for the Society's work. Also, Musgrave House would be ideally suited for a hostel. If we could move the offices and common rooms out of it, it could be used for this purpose for the remainder of the lease.

For the building of a 'Great Hall' we must wait for our Trust Fund to accumulate. The need for it is, fortunately, less urgent, though its influence, when we possess it, will be important.

If the first post-war year in our history was thus big with promise of things to come, it was also concerned with many of the problems that beset the University and the nation at large. The rush from the Forces to the University was even greater than had been foreseen. For the women it would have been further complicated by the statutory restrictions on their numbers, had these not been temporarily relaxed. Council authorized St. Anne's Delegates to admit an additional twenty students, as well as five candidates for the Diploma in Theology. (This special permission was granted at the request of the Theology Board to meet an expected demand for trained divinity teachers in Schools and Emergency Training Colleges under the new Act, and also, possibly, in social and industrial work.) Other special exemptions were allowed for women whose University career had been prevented or interrupted by National Service. In 1946 the total number of undergraduates actually reached 261, but the temporary character of the relaxation has been stressed, nor would the Delegates themselves

wish it to be permanent. Like all colleges, our Society has been strained to the uttermost as regards provision for teaching and administration. Fortunate indeed was it that the housing difficulty, so acute for the man undergraduate, had been lessened for us by the Hartland Bequest.

The ex-service women students have been of a good type—serious and capable; ‘they have gained immeasurably from their varied experience, and are most interesting pupils to teach.’¹

What of the other students? Even the ordinary ex-school-girls are possibly less simple beings than their earliest fore-runners; less prone to regard themselves as students, more as women of the world. Like most of their generation, they have learnt to be practical, can generally cook—if need be—to some extent, and can make their own clothes. Concentration on one line of work is hardly attainable at the present time.

Games are certainly taken less seriously than twenty or thirty years ago. The keen athletes are mostly to be found in the University Women’s United Clubs. ‘Hockey and tennis matches’, reports an undergraduate in the *Ship*, ‘continue to be played against other Colleges, but these are friendly disputes, the score is seldom kept, and never remembered, and charity and breathlessness go hand in hand.’ Both in games and in other amusements there is far more co-operation with men. In fact nearly all clubs are ‘mixed’. There has not been the same ‘orgy of dancing’ that followed the last war, but St. Anne’s gets much satisfaction out of the small dances which are held every term in Hartland House.

The last few years have seen many tutorial changes—mostly inevitable, because the earliest appointments had been made at almost the same dates, or at any rate, from women of about the same University standing. In 1941 the present writer relinquished her various posts. In 1945 came the retirement

¹ E. P., the *Ship*, No. 36, p. 6.

of Dr. Ivy Williams and Miss C. V. Butler; in the following year that of Miss Olwen Rhys and Miss Huntington, lecturers to the Society; Miss Hugon's retirement was due in 1947. In 1946 also Miss Moore retired from the post of Secretary to the Delegates. Death had also taken its toll; in Miss Wardale (1943), Sister Benedicta, the much-loved Head of Springfield (1944), and in the spring of 1946 Miss Lane Poole, of whom more must be said hereafter. Permanent appointments were difficult to make at this period, and there has been a good deal of subsequent movement in the staff. This must have a rejuvenating effect on a Society which had seen few changes in personnel for over twenty years; let it be remembered also that there is a danger of loss of tradition—a danger affecting post-war Oxford as a whole.

Though the importance of tradition may be easily exaggerated, in our own Society this feature should be noted carefully, in connexion with the change of title, which—successful as it has been in practice—has yet broken some of the links of sentiment that bind the generations together. And sentiment is doubly important where there is no one college building to act as a symbol of unity and as a visible embodiment of the past.

Constitutionally St. Anne's Society has reached an interesting stage in evolution. Starting as a spontaneous growth, fostered and guided, as we have seen, first by the 'A.E.W.', then by the Delegacy for Women Students, it finally, under direct University rule, has attained a form of government in some ways unique in Oxford history. It cannot, of course, be ranked as a college, which is autonomous, nor even a 'New Foundation', such as Keble, whose governing body is partly appointed, partly elective. (The four Women's Colleges are similarly governed, though they are not classified in the 'Statuta' under a similar title.) Nor does it correspond in constitution to the 'Halls'—which are neither corporate bodies

nor self-governing. (For instance, in St. Edmund Hall the Fellows are appointed by the Principal, by consent of the body of Fellows; and the Principal's appointment is in the hands of Trustees, though any two Fellows may propose a candidate.)

St. Anne's Delegacy may be naturally compared with St. Catherine's. It has, it is true, no place in the proctorial cycle, but in other ways has certain definite superiorities. St. Anne's Delegates must include in their numbers not only the Principal and Vice-Principal, but four tutors, elected by the Tutors' Meeting. (St. Catherine's have only *one* representative tutor on their Delegacy.) All important committees of the Delegacy are bound to include members of the tutorial body. This is a right which is particularly valuable when appointments are to be made either of officers or upon the teaching staff.

In no way has this increase of tutorial power been seen more markedly than in the procedure for the appointment of a Principal. By statute the appointment is vested in the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, after consultation with the Delegates.¹ In practice the Vice-Chancellor has left the balance of power to the Delegates, who have appointed a sub-committee for this purpose. In 1929 a majority of this Selection Committee were officers, or *ex-officio* members of the Delegacy—two tutors being co-opted. In 1940 it was a matter of course that the four Delegate tutors should serve on the Committee of Selection for a new Principal, and the weight of tutorial opinion was fully felt. The change has perhaps been in convention rather than in law, but it is significant of a real advance in tutorial dignity and responsibility. A further important step forward would be the institution of some title and status for tutors, corresponding to that of Fellow of a college, both

¹ By a Statute just passed (T.T. 1949) the Delegates are given power to nominate a Principal, subject to the approval of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors and to confirmation by Convocation.

official and honorary. But without incorporation, we must fain admit, it is hard to provide an answer to this need.

Do we wish for freedom from Delegacy government, and incorporation as an independent body? There are grave obstacles in the way of such a policy. It would require a conviction on the part of Council and Convocation that St. Anne's is equal to the status of a college; it would necessitate a very large endowment, to enable the Society to dispense with the financial assistance that accompanies University control; and finally, it would mean the loss of elements in our government which we greatly prize. The direct relation with the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, if, as has been said, it involves frequent changes in our Delegacy, has meant also the possession of influential friends. The Controller of Lodgings is more a helper than a controller; the other men members of the University—more particularly our successive Chairmen—have been our staunch allies and counsellors, above all, in matters legal and financial. As Miss Rogers once shrewdly wrote: 'Few women take any interest in finance, which fortunately gives an occasion for men to interest themselves in their affairs.' St. Anne's Delegates are interested in the Society; they are a vigorous and friendly body, far more homogeneous than in early days, when the meetings, presided over by the Vice-Chancellor, were (to some of the newer members) rather awe-inspiring, and the various elements did not always understand each other.

The future, no doubt, holds further evolution of the Society, but there is, emphatically, no need to hasten this, nor to strain after a collegiate independence that might endanger some of our special characteristics. Much that is valuable and irreplaceable may be sacrificed on the altar of uniformity. 'Here's tae us! wha's like us?' is a slogan with a tonic quality of its own.

IV

UNDERGRADUATE MEMORIES

(By various authors)

A Student Twice Over

OXFORD and the Home-Students in the 1920s—surely this is a theme to inspire the most phlegmatic; a decade which opens with that tremendous moment when through the great doors of the Sheldonian we saw approaching that memorable procession of Principals with our own dear Mrs. Johnson leading, and at its close finds Miss Hadow ruling the destinies of the undergraduate members of the Society as if there had never been a time when the members were other than undergraduate. We owe a great debt to Miss Burrows who, becoming Principal in 1921, made so seemingly easy and natural the transition, and made it by her gentleness, which cloaked but never hid, even from the most obtuse, a firmness and a ripe judgement which could subdue the most intoxicated with new freedoms by a reminder of new duties.

It was a wonderful period, beginning as it did with the combined glory of the end of the war and the end of our degree campaign.

Probably our generation will remain specially impervious to the thrills of the New Look of which we hear so much; for us the New Look was and always will be the cap and gown of the University of Oxford as worn by its women members. Not even Miss Poole at her most rigorous could have complained that we adjusted our caps at a frivolous angle or wore our gowns with unbecoming feminine fripperies beneath. With joy and pride we dug out black stockings, borrowed or

unearthed a subfusc coat and skirt, and adjusted the cap with the point straight with the nose—and may a relic of the past say that in her opinion we looked much better than some of the musical comedy or hiking visions of 1946?

When the wise virgins who had taken degree courses had received their reward, it was the turn of the foolish to decide how best to make up their deficiencies,¹ to weigh the respective horrors of Pass Moderations and two Groups, to add Greek or Latin to a long-ago Higher Certificate, and to decide whether the missionary journeys of St. Paul were more or less uncongenial than the wanderings of the Ark. Then had to be arranged how this could be sandwiched into an already busy life, and accomplished in the shortest possible time. Indeed, life had its tense moments; I remember well waiting in the Hall of the Schools for 'Groups' results, with dear Mr. Belamy, Clerk of the Schools, remarking: 'I hope you're through, Miss, it wouldn't do to fail with your pupils passing', and indeed, without the copious lecture notes of a kindly pupil, I still feel such would have been my fate.

Varieties of age mattered little—for were not the men's colleges still thronged with war veterans? though no doubt the authentic undergraduate found us funny. But what of that, in an Oxford where every day some new door opened to women, where by 1922 women were examining in the Schools, where we provided the first woman D.C.L. and she in turn provided the University with Winter Williams Law Scholarships for women and for men?

How blest too we were in our Vice-Chancellor, that great little man and staunch friend of women, Dr. Wells, who found time within an hour of the moment when, clutching Miss Butler's hand, I bowed before him, to write and congratulate; and I expect he did it to everyone.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 13-14.

And what of Miss Rogers? Did she Othello-like mourn her lost preoccupation? Far from it, for after dealing with such trivia as the choice of the CAP, she plunged into a frenzy of gardening, the obtaining of proper quarters for the Society, and the general harrying of those of us who forgot to wear a gown after dark.

The Society moved to Jowett Walk and it is doubtful if we have ever had more delightful quarters. The Common Room was really big, the surroundings were ideal, and in these austere days we look back with mingled awe and longing to the cakes and light lunches sped through the hatch by Miss Draper.

And a Gaudy *was* a Gaudy there; no longer must we meet in Taphouse's Music Rooms, with the speeches punctuated by exploding stoves and with draughts ruffling hair and composure. Instead the Principal received us as a hostess in her own domain, and made us all feel it was also ours.

No longer step-children, we took Oxford for our own as never before; we were citizens of no mean city; we had entered into the labours of those who had striven, and we were grateful. The 1920s are out of fashion now; but for us who remember, those years have the golden haze of fulfilment and anticipation.

D. M. N. (1908-11 and 1921-2)

A Home-Student in her own Home

To write one's memories of life as a Home-Student under Miss Hadow, and confine them to a few hundred words, seems a task which even Miss Hadow, with her gift for limpid expression, might have found difficult.

As a Home-Student—in its original meaning—my relationship to the Society was in some ways closer and in some ways less intimate than that of the new-comer to Oxford. For

years I had followed the history of the Society through the eyes of my father and so inherited a sense of belonging to it in a filial way, but the duties and pleasures of home life left less time for participation in its corporate activities.

I suppose it was at the meeting of the Society at the beginning of term for the election of officers and representatives on various organizations that the Society made its first impression, and it was remarkable how that large and scattered body achieved unity in its pursuits both intellectual and athletic. This must have meant hard work for all those responsible for their organization, and I can well remember the urgent telephonings that usually preceded a game of lacrosse. The long list of unfamiliar clubs and societies and of unknown names to fill vacancies was a little intimidating to the fresher, but the sense of belonging to a Society, admirable for the initiative and vision which had inspired it and for its continuing ideals, came when Miss Hadow spoke of the rights and duties of our membership, and of the dignity of our position.

But if we came out of that meeting with our sense of importance a little inflated, we soon returned to a proper sense of our shortcomings as we listened to Miss Lane Poole's comments (rather breathless after the stairs of the Clarendon Building) on our translation of the *Agricola*—though these were made with no malice and with such a delightful economy of words that they yielded an acid pleasure even to the victim.

Against a background of tutorials, essays, lectures, and reading (most students worked an average of seven hours a day, more in their last year), our social life was full and varied. We met in the evenings in each other's rooms for coffee (not cocoa as was sometimes alleged!) or for a game of bridge—but above all for conversation that touched every imaginable topic; we were not so much concerned with the aesthetic as the previous generation at Oxford, nor were we very scienti-

fically minded, but we discussed almost everything else, though our chief interest was conditions, social, economic, and political, and international affairs, and of course other most feminine topics not peculiar to our generation. We did not neglect the theatre or the cinema, we went to dances and to meetings of the political clubs, patronizing them all, from the Conservative to the October Club, with an open and critical mind. In the summer we spent long energetic afternoons playing tennis, and long lazy afternoons on the river.

It was a crowded life, but not unduly hurried, for we often found time to drop in to the Junior Common Room in Jowett Walk for coffee and Miss Draper's excellent confections and to discuss the morning's news. Thus fortified, we summoned up courage to return a book to the Nettleship Library and to undergo the reprimand and fine for keeping it too long: then with lightened conscience off to Mr. Franks's crowded lecture on the History of Philosophy.

All this was part of the life of any student at Oxford. For a Home-Student living in a university home there were other interests and occupations: there were dons and undergraduates to be entertained: visitors from other universities at home and abroad to welcome: and the conversation of learned men and women to contrast with the impetuous talk of youth. The long list of vacation reading was less formidable to one who had been early initiated into the routine of the reading party, while the Radcliffe Camera became a club for others similarly placed where, after a morning immersed in some abstract study, plans were made for the rest of the afternoon.

Our contacts with the Principal were not many—a short visit at the beginning and end of term and an occasional luncheon at her house in Fyfield Road—but she had that gift of knowing her students that only a sympathetic interest in their personalities could give, and no student could doubt the

understanding which she brought to the consideration of any personal problem or the clear-sighted wisdom which lay behind her advice.

I suppose that undergraduates of all generations have the same sort of occupations and amusements, but our generation was peculiarly lucky in being more remote from the fear and effects of war, and so could enjoy the opportunities of university life with a greater sense of personal freedom.

R. M. (1932-5)

A St. Anne's Undergraduate in War and Peace

THOSE of us who came up in war-time were warned by parents and others, who had known an Oxford of perhaps thirty years before, that our university life would be a poor, straitened thing, hardly worthy of the name. It did not seem so to us. Most of us came straight from school and were attempting to cram a shortened course into two years (which meant twenty months, for there was only one long vacation), before undertaking some form of national service. We were prepared to justify ourselves by sound work and knew that much of what makes up normal university life was in abeyance, but yet there were still, in the first weeks of term, those initiations of which we had heard: solicitations for membership from a bewildering variety of societies, a large number of new acquaintances to be made, Oxford to be explored, and above all the sensation of belonging to the university, matriculation under the charge of Miss Lane Poole with her crimson umbrella, signing the Bodley register, attending University Sermon and entering, or so we vaingloriously felt, upon academic life.

Such concerns touched us more nearly than they should have done, perhaps, in such times, and to many our closest contact with the war came in six hours' war-work which were compulsory every week except when examinations were near.

This took many forms. Testing shell-caps for the Morris Works taught one the tedium and monotony of such labour, but was felt to be more directly related to the war effort than rolling the Springfield lawn. Washing dishes in the Radcliffe Infirmary, taking charge of the children of busy mothers, canteen work, gardening, working in war libraries, helping to run a national savings group were among the activities recognized as war work. Trailer-pump practice became quite a sporting event. I remember some reverend persons whom we believed to be the Hebdomadal Council coming out to watch our Friday afternoon manœuvres outside the Divinity Schools, and there were exciting competitions in speed and accuracy between the teams of rival colleges, who had their first, second, and third 'fours' carefully graded and trained. An interview with the Principal might well be cut short by an air-raid warning which obliged her to rush to the Wardens' Post, and one of the Springfield Sisters might be seen in a tin hat which gave her an astonishing resemblance to the Ellesmere picture of the Wife of Bath. Most of us spent at least one night a week fire-watching in one or other of the university buildings, a precaution which proved unnecessary but which put us in curious positions. How many undergraduates before the war had looked at Oxford by moonlight from the top of Bodley's tower? Or freely explored the underground passages there? Or watched in Duke Humphrey by night for Selden's ghost who still treads the floor on its old level? And how many have found themselves playing a friendly darts match with a 'buller' under the Clarendon Building at midnight? In the long vacation most of us undertook a month or so's 'war-work', and for many this meant returning to the medieval and Scottish Long Vacation practice of helping to get the harvest in; others chose fruit-picking or forestry work.

The round of our lives at the university in war-time was

very full and very satisfying, and it seems strange to come back now, as many of us are doing, to complete our shortened courses and to observe the differences. There is of course even more whirl and bustle—the numbers of both men and women being so greatly increased—there is an enormous number of political and social activities, a choice of 118 societies, standing-room only in lectures, a scramble for books as soon as the libraries open—in fact, it would appear, perpetual and absorbing activity. But if I may speak for the older students, who are in general rather sharply divided from the undergraduates who have just left school, there is a restlessness and sense of no-purpose, which we did not feel during the war. Perhaps it was because we were younger, but then we felt no need to look ahead; now we cannot.

E. J. H. (1942-4 and 1946-7)

V

GOVERNORS, TEACHERS, AND BENEFACTORS

THE true foundations of a Society like ours are the men and women who have given it the riches of their thought and daily care. To these 'living stones' a chapter is due, if the history of the structure is to be complete.

The first place must always be given to Mrs. Johnson, whose ideals and whose work for the Society have been the theme of our first volume. The seed, if not planted, was tended by her from its first seed-leaf; it was her faith in its possibilities and her devotion to its service that inspired others, and has caused its growth to so memorable a tree. With her must be associated her friends and co-workers whom she has described in her recollections in the first volume, chief among whom were Dr. Jackson,¹ Chairman of the Association (to whom is due the name 'Home-Student',² so much prized by Mrs. Johnson), and Mrs. T. H. Green, and Mr. Arthur Sidgwick.

Charlotte Green may be rated the oldest friend of the Society. She and her husband, Professor T. H. Green, were members of the 'A.E.W.' from its foundation in 1878. He acted as Secretary that year, but in 1879 resigned the duties to his wife and to his friend Mr. S. H. Butcher. Mrs. Green was especially charged with the care of the Home-Students, of whom there were already some thirty, though as yet with no fixed designation. On her husband's death in 1882 she handed

¹ Fellow of Exeter (1863-87), later Rector.

² Did he take the name from Boswell's *Journal* where the 'home-students' of Glasgow University are alluded to? See Johnson and Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, p. 196.

over the secretaryship to Mrs. Johnson, but continued to be a member of the Association Council till its dissolution in 1920; she had served on all the successive committees which acted as our Governing Body up to that historic date, and was thus officially connected with the Society for forty-two years. She had many other interests, such as nursing and social work in the city; Somerville had a strong claim on her as one of its Governors, and with her husband's college, Balliol, and its Masters she had always a close friendship; but it was by her counsel and sympathy to Mrs. Johnson, one of her chief friends, and by her kindness to individual students that she best served our Society. Those who knew her will never forget the strong and beautiful face, under the black velvet bonnet, the light, springing step, the wisdom and humour of her talk, the greatness and nobility of her character. Like most of our women pioneers in Oxford, she lived to a ripe old age, dying in September 1929 at the age of 87. Of Mr. Sidgwick a delightful sketch has been given by Mrs. Johnson in her reminiscences.¹ He was Secretary to the A.E.W. 1882-1907, and President 1907-15, and Chairman of the Home-Students Committee. As may be seen from various letters quoted in Volume I, he was a devoted friend to the 'Women's Cause', and a wise counsellor amid the problems that distracted its early history; patient and sympathetic, ever with the *mot juste* for the crisis or character. He differed from Mrs. Johnson over the degree question, and caused his own two daughters (Home-Students) to take the full degree course, in anticipation of the ultimate granting of the degree. Here he was in accord with Miss Rogers, who succeeded Mrs. Johnson as his co-secretary in 1894.

Of Annie Rogers much has already been written; she permeates our first volume only to a less extent than Mrs.

¹ Vol. i, pp. 18, 26.

Johnson.¹ Her own work *Degrees by Degrees*² is perhaps her best memorial. It reveals not only the trend of her mind and speech, but also the intensity of the interests which shaped her career. Oxford University was her real passion. Its history, constitution, and politics; its intricate relations to the colleges, —these were her lifelong study. 'My main object in life', she wrote of herself, 'has been the improvement of the relations of women to the University.' Known as she must be to posterity as the successful champion of degrees for women, she was too far-sighted and statesmanlike for mere feminism; in fact she took an equal pleasure in working and in fighting with men. Her combativeness and her restless energy were at times wearisome to her friends as well as to her foes; but she was quite unrepentant: 'Deep and sometimes double digging is essential to all good gardening', she wrote once on a post-card full of inner meaning. 'The soil should be *constantly* stirred, but sometimes more is required to eradicate weeds and to aerate properly!' (She was a gardener of some repute.)

She mellowed in old age, when she took considerable pride in the almost legendary fame which she had acquired. *Fons et origo mali*, she once described herself, for had she not actually qualified for an Exhibition, offered alike by Balliol and Worcester Colleges, to the candidate who headed the 'Oxford Locals' list in 1873? (Worcester actually offered the Exhibition 'as a little act of pleasantry';³ Balliol presented her with £10 worth of books, embossed with the college arms, and, some sixty years after, Balliol Common Room invited her to a dinner in celebration of the event!)

Our Society has, we think, a valuable tradition of long service. We would not venture to claim any pre-eminence in a

¹ Cf. especially vol. i, pp. 41-4, 64, 73, and chap. 1 written by A. M. A. H. R.

² See Memoir, by B. E. Gwyer, prefixed to that volume.

³ The *Ship*, No. 27 (quoting Dr. B. Rogers).

feature which can be found in every Oxford college. It was characteristic of all the Women's Societies that the first tutors and administrators should give them the long devotion of the pioneer. In our own Society such length of service was facilitated by the fact that its exponents had their natural homes in Oxford. If Mrs. Johnson presided over Home-Students for 48 years (first as Secretary to the A.E.W., then as Principal), Miss Rogers was a member of our Governing Body for 51 years (besides being Classical Tutor to the A.E.W. for 27 years). Mrs. Prichard 'for forty years has directed the financial policy of the Society with wisdom, courage, and patience'.¹ With her worked for many years Violet Bonner, first as Assistant Secretary to the A.E.W. (1897-1920), then as Assistant Treasurer to our Society (1921-8). Many generations of Home-Students will recall the exquisite handwriting with which she adorned our fee-forms, and the half-grim welcome which she accorded to the unpunctual and procrastinating—a grimness which could always be mollified by luring her into talk about the Bach Choir, of which she was a devoted member.

There were other A.E.W. tutors whose services we were proud to share. Miss Jane Kirkaldy was the first and for many years the only Science Tutor to women in Oxford. Appointed in 1894 by the A.E.W., she had to deal with the intricate and delicate problems that beset the early admission of women to scientific studies in Oxford. She became Tutor or Lecturer to each of the Women's Societies, and served till 1930, by which time she had seen the full recognition, after many questionings and difficulties, of the woman medical student. Many Home-Students will recall her pungent treatment of their frailties, her devastating frankness, and her heart-whole devotion to their interests, both at Oxford and in their after-careers.

¹ *Annual Report*, 1947-8.

No less do we honour Miss Edith Wardale, Tutor in English to the A.E.W. from the earliest days; one of the first women to qualify for a doctorate (Ph.D. at Zürich), a great scholar and authority on Middle English, she played an important part in the formation of the Honour English School, and trained countless of our earlier students in the difficult paths of philology. Miss M. L. Lee had taught English Language and Literature for forty years, first for the A.E.W. then for our Society, when she resigned in 1936. Several thousand pupils had been trained and inspired by her,¹ including one of the two English tutors who succeeded her.

All these had their permanent homes in Oxford, as had our own staff of tutors and lecturers, most of whom had been Home-Students themselves. Their special contribution was, perhaps, to interpret for their pupils the spirit and traditions of Oxford, of which they were children free born.

Dr. Williams, who has conferred so many distinctions on our Society, as pioneer woman law student, barrister, and D.C.L., was Tutor in Jurisprudence to the Society for twenty-five years, organizing the course for law students, and inspiring them by her enthusiasm and high standards. The legal path is not an easy one for women to tread; till legal careers are more promising there can hardly be many women students of law. But the foundations for such study are truly laid, and the Society may well be proud of its special legal connexion, and of the fact that Hartland House contains the Geldart Law Library for Women.

Then there have been the two Butler sisters; they have been tutors for twenty-nine years (R. F. Butler) and thirty-one years (C. V. Butler), presiding respectively over History and Economics—from the early days of that study to its honourable alliance with Philosophy and Politics in 'Modern Greats'.

¹ *Ante*, p. 8.

Olwen Rhys, daughter of a former Principal of Jesus, has had a distinguished career as lecturer, examiner, and teacher in Old French for some forty years. N. E. Macmunn, the first woman Tutor in Geography, firmly laid the foundations of the special connexion with that subject which has characterized our Society.

Last of our 'Old Student' tutors must come Dorothy Lane Poole, connected with the Society from her student days. Her death (March 1947) is recent and still poignant. Her character stands out as one of the most individual in our Society—challenging, self-contradictory, but never failing to win love and appreciation. Born and bred in Oxford, she was steeped in Oxford traditions, and deeply critical of anyone who represented a variant from those which she had inherited from her father,¹ one of the most exact and learned scholars of his day, and her mother, one of the generation of young dons' wives who pioneered the 'Higher Education of Women in Oxford'. Mrs. Rachael Poole, indeed, deserves a niche to herself in our temple of fame—scholar, through association with her husband, accomplished editor of the *Catalogue of Oxford Portraits* (in recognition of which monumental work she was made a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and an Hon. M.A. of Oxford); one of the founders and for many years Secretary of the Oxford Bach Choir, under Sir Hugh (then Dr.) Allen. She was for long a member of our Governing Body and was deeply interested in our Society and its development.

Dorothy herself will long be remembered in her academic dress, so meticulously put on—a model to all in University etiquette—recalled no less for her scarifying criticism of her 'Pass Mods.' pupils than for the real humour and underlying kindness which they were quick to recognize. This appre-

¹ Reginald Lane Poole, D.Litt., Fellow of Magdalen College, Lecturer in Diplomatic (1896–1927), Keeper of the Archives (1909–26).

ciation of a character as genuine as it was original was shown by the swarm of old pupils who joyfully surrounded her at every Gaudy. She might seem the veriest 'don'; one friend will always associate with her a love of dogs, of bird-watching, and of small boys.

To turn to 'imported' Tutors. Miss Hugon (Somerville College) has been our own for twenty-five years, our one and only French Tutor from her appointment up to 1947, —coping, with the aid of Miss Rhys, with the countless permutations of one of our most complex Schools. Her length of service is out-distanced by another Somervillian, Miss Leys, who has been our prop and stay since 1920 as History Tutor, and since 1938 as Vice-Principal. Of her and of her younger colleagues more cannot now be written, for are they not still making history in the Society?

Our Secretaries have well lived up to the general reputation —Miss Aubrey Moore having been Secretary to the Principal and the Society for twenty-five years (1922-47), and to the Delegates since Miss Rogers retired from that position in 1930. Her successor, Miss Woodcock, an 'Old Student' of the Society, had already served it in many capacities since 1923; she has that taste so rare in women—a passion for accounts, and an unrivalled patience in dealing with the tangles of less able financiers.

This is certainly a tale of long service, such as can hardly be expected to occur again. The united experience of these tutors as students and teachers covers the greater part of the period in which the Higher Education of Women passed to the many from the few—the period in which the Fisher Act has borne fruit, and the full crop from the new Secondary Schools has been reaped. There is probably a higher general level of education among the girls who now win admission to the Society, but fewer 'high-lights' in proportion to the whole.

In this period there have been developments, too, in the Honour Schools. The Modern Language School is a veritable hydra compared to the simplicity of early days. We are proud to think that we can contribute to the Tylorian staff a Reader in Russian, Mme N. Gorodetzky; and that in Oriental Languages one of our students (G. M. Taylor) won the University Scholarship in Chinese, and another (L. Schwartzschild) the Boden Scholarship in Sanskrit.

The English School, after much struggle and adverse criticism, has worked out a fair balance between the claims of language, philology, and pure literature. The present state of the History School appears to a former 'historian' less satisfactory. The gates of knowledge seem somewhat clogged by the minutiae of research. It will indeed be a misfortune to future historical study if diligent gleaners in the *English Historical Review* have no time to reap from the broad fields of Maitland and of Stubbs. One of the most popular Schools in Oxford at the present day is 'Modern Greats', founded after the First World War. Candidates from girls' schools have always been rather shy of choosing it in advance for their line of study, but our Society—the first to appoint a Tutor in Economics—has done its full share in promoting interest in the School, and in organizing its studies. For long a special niche was kept for students of the Economics Diploma, who wished to combine it with the Social Training Certificate; 'social work' and study in fact have been one of our marked interests as a Society.

Though our 'Schools results' are by no means to be despised, we do not, as a whole, produce as many First Classes as some of the other Societies; one cause for this, undoubtedly, has been the lack till recently of scholarships of any high value. Again and again have entrance candidates to whom we have offered a scholarship been diverted from us by the higher

scholarships of the colleges. Nor can we conceal from ourselves the truth that a good many women prefer life in college. These disadvantages or differences are becoming less than they were, and the effect may be seen perhaps in the class lists; even so, will modern St. Anne's students beat the record of 1898 and 1899, in each of which years a total of just over thirty students produced three First Classes?¹

Our Society will probably continue to have a special appeal to graduates and to research students, as well as to foreigners and those with a natural preference for life in a small rather than a large group.

From this digression to the education for which all learned societies primarily exist, we return to our rulers and benefactors, of which the list would indeed be incomplete without special mention of the Chairmen of our Delegacy. The Vice-Chancellor is *ex-officio* Chairman, and Dr. Farnell² (1921-3) and Mr. Wells³ (1923-5) exercised the function personally with great assiduity and care. Later Vice-Chancellors have appointed deputies. Sir David Ross, whose long experience of women's affairs dated from 1908 when, as he once told us, Miss Rogers had met him at Assisi, and recruited him as her co-Secretary to the A.E.W., served as Chairman of the Delegates from 1925 to 1934, steering us through many problems with unfailing interest and judgement. He was succeeded (Jan. 1935) by Dr. Norwood, President of St. John's, who has seen us through our brightest and our darkest days—the opening of the New Building, the sudden death of Miss Hadow, and the problems of war—with sympathy and robust support.

Finally, we must commemorate Mrs. Hartland, the benefactress to whom we owe so much and of whom so little is

¹ Vol. i, p. 64.

³ Warden of Wadham (1913-27).

² Rector of Exeter (1913-28).

known. Amy Georgina Smith was the third daughter in the large family of Charles Manley Smith, a Master in the Supreme Court of Judicature. She was born in 1861 and educated at Miss Jefferies's School, Sussex Square, Brighton. Little definite is recorded of her education there, but in after-life her interests were wide rather than profound, musical and artistic rather than literary. She painted flowers beautifully, and there is a tale of her once sitting up all night to paint one of the rare-flowering cactuses which her husband collected. She was keen, too, on local archaeology, and it was at a big meeting of some local society that she met a young Oxford woman archaeologist, whose ability and sound learning deeply impressed her, and probably first aroused her regret that she herself had missed a University education.

In 1897 she married Ernest Hartland,¹ a wealthy Gloucestershire man, who had recently bought Hardwick Court, a house and estate near Chepstow. This was Mrs. Hartland's home for nearly fifty years, her husband, who was something of an eccentric, occupying himself with the collection, among other things, of ivories, rare plants, and incunabula, till his death in 1931. In this sheltered, rather cramped, existence Amy Hartland remained the Victorian gentlewoman—cultured, gentle, and kindly. As she pondered over her own life, she conceived the idea of a new college at Oxford, which would open to many more women the education she herself had missed.

The rest of the tale has been told already. A certain vagueness about the first offer we now see to have been due in part to her lack of experience, but even more to unavoidable circumstances. But the courage with which she clung to the dream, of which even she could not clearly foresee the whole fulfilment, inspired others, as we have seen, and won its ultimate reward. She showed self-denial in renouncing her

¹ M.A., Merton College, 1866.

desire to be the actual founder of a college, and in adopting our Society, with its special traditions and limitations. Her final bequest was made without one provision that could hamper or control its evolution. The whole story is one of singleness of aim, simply and unobtrusively (one might almost say, mysteriously) pursued.

The first volume of the history of the Society of Oxford Home-Students began and ended with the name of Bertha Johnson; this volume of the history of St. Anne's must end with that of Amy Hartland. In no sense of the word an Oxford woman, yet among Oxford women she has raised her sure memorial.

STAT FORTUNA DOMUS

APPENDIX I

Chronological Tables, 1883 to end of Trinity Term 1948

Principals of the Society

- BERTHA JANE JOHNSON (MRS.), M.A. (1920). In charge of Home-Students 1883-93; Principal 1893-Hilary Term, 1921.
- CHRISTINE MARY ELIZABETH BURROWS, M.A. (1921). Trinity Term, 1921 to Trinity Term, 1929.
- GRACE ELEANOR HADOW, M.A. (1921). Michaelmas Term, 1929, to 19 January 1940.
- ELEANOR MARY PLUMER, THE HONOURABLE, M.A. (1940). Michaelmas Term, 1940- .

Chairmen of Home-Students Committee

1891. REV. THOMAS HODGE GROSE, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College.
1897. EDWARD CAIRD, M.A., HON. D.C.L., Master of Balliol College.
1908. ARTHUR SIDGWICK, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College.
1911. WILLIAM MARTIN GELDART, M.A., B.C.L., Fellow of All Souls College.

Chairmen of Delegacy for Home-Students

- 1921-5. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.
1925. WILLIAM DAVID ROSS, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College [Provost, 1929; D.LITT., 1937; K.B.E., 1938].
1935. CYRIL NORWOOD, M.A. [created Knight, 1938], President of St. John's College, 1934-46.

Hon. Treasurer

- MABEL HENRIETTA PRICHARD (MRS.), M.A. (1921). 1911-48.

Hon. Secretary

ANNIE MARY ANNE HENLEY ROGERS, M.A. (1920), to the A.E.W., 1894-1920; to the Home-Students Committee of the Delegacy for Women Students, 1911-21; to the Delegates, 1921-30.

Secretaries

ETHEL MARGARET AUBREY MOORE, M.A. (1920), to the Principal, 1922-5; to the Office, 1925-46; to the Delegates, 1930-46.

MARY AUGUSTA WOODCOCK, to the Society, 1946.

Tutors of the Society

RUTH FLORENCE BUTLER, M.A. (1920). Modern History, 1913-33. Secretary to the Principal, 1906-21; Vice-Principal, 1919-38; Senior Tutor and Dean of Degrees, 1925-41.

MARGARET LUCY LEE, M.A. (1920). English, 1913-36.

M. I. ATCHISON (MOTHER MARY AMADEUS). History, 1913-16.

EMMELINE PAXTON. German, 1913-18.

NORA EILEEN MACMUNN, M.A. (1920). Geography, 1914-35; Demonstrator at School of Geography, 1906-22; Lecturer in Regional Geography, 1924-35.

CHRISTINA VIOLET BUTLER, M.A. (1920). Economics, 1914-45.

ISABELLE MARY DEWYNTER (MOTHER M. ETHELBURGA). History, 1916-19.

DOROTHY OLIVE TAYLOR, M.A. (1921) (MOTHER M. DOMINICA). English, 1918-29.

MARY DOROTHY ROSE LEYS, M.A. (1921). History, 1919- ; Vice-Principal, 1938- .

DOROTHY JOY LANE POOLE, M.A. (1920). Classics, 1920-47. Dean of Degrees, 1942-7.

IVY WILLIAMS, M.A. (1920), D.C.L. (1923). Jurisprudence, 1920-45.

JANE WILLIS KIRKALDY, M.A. (1920). Natural Science, 1920-30.

ANNIE MARY ANNE HENLEY ROGERS, M.A. (1920). Classics; to the A.E.W., 1884-1920; to the Society, 1920-7.

MARIANNE CÉCILE GABRIELLE HUGON, M.A. (1923). French, 1922-47.

- CECILIA MARY ADY, M.A. (1920), D.LITT. (1938). History, 1924-9;
now Research Fellow, St. Hugh's College.
- JEAN ORR-EWING, B.M. (1924). Natural Science, 1932-9.
- BENEDICTA ROWE, M.A. (1928). History, 1932-4.
- CHRISTINE LATTO MORRISON, M.A. (1931). English, 1933- .
- NAOMI HURNARD, M.A. (1934). History, 1936-7.
- MARY ELAINE GRIFFITHS, M.A. (1935). English, 1938- .
- MARJORIE ETHEL REEVES, M.A. (1938). History, 1938- .
- HELENA CLARA DENEKE, M.A. (1920). German, 1938-43.
- URSULA MARY WYKES, M.A. (1942). Natural Science, 1939-45.
- WILMA BERYL ALEXANDER (MRS.), M.A. (1945). Natural Science,
1945-8.
- JOAN EILEEN MITCHELL, M.A. (1946). Economics, 1945-7.

Assistant Tutors

- MARGARET AUGUSTA LEISHMAN, B.SC. (1926), M.A. (1930). Natural
Science, 1930-2.
- CHRISTINE LATTO MORRISON, M.A. (1931). English, 1930-3.
- NAOMI HURNARD, M.A. (1934). History, 1934-6.
- MARY ELAINE GRIFFITHS, M.A. (1935). English, 1937-8.
- BENEDICTA ROWE, M.A. (1928). History, 1929-32.

Lecturers

- BEATRICE ADELAIDE LEES, M.A. (1921). History (Tutor, 1922-4;
Lecturer, 1924-6).
- DOROTHY MAUD WRINCH (MRS.), M.A. (1925), D.SC. (1929).
Mathematics, 1925-39.
- OLWEN RHYS, M.A. (1924). Old French, 1929-46.
- ELIZABETH MONICA OPENSHAW CUTCLIFFE (MRS.), M.A. (1925).
Natural Science, 1929-30.
- HELENA CLARA DENEKE, M.A. (1920). German, 1933-8.
- ALICE MARY HUNTINGTON, M.A. (1934). Italian, 1934-47.
- ELFRIDE MARY JOHNSON, M.A. (1946). Old English, 1945- .
- DOROTHY BEDNAROWSKA (MRS.). English, 1946- .

APPENDIX II

To finance such a Society as ours has always been a problem. It owed its very existence to voluntary service. Starting with students who lived at home with few expenses, it had been extended to others who wished for similar conditions. Thus fees had been kept at a minimum; the earliest Home-Students paid merely the cost of their tuition and lectures, plus 5s. a year (raised after a time to 5s. a term) to the A.E.W. The small cost of administration was met by the A.E.W. till 1910, when the Delegacy for Women Students was set up. A registration fee of 2s. 6d. was then instituted, and a terminal fee of 10s. 6d. per student, raised to £1. 1s. in 1914.

In 1921, when the Delegates of Home-Students took over the management of the Society, they had almost to create a system of finance.

The capital in hand consisted of:

£750 5 per cent. National War Bonds.

£1,400 5½ per cent. Conversion Stock, acquired as a result of an Appeal for Endowment in pre-War years.

The only regular *income*, besides that derived from students' payments, was £500 p.a. from the Cassel Educational Trust. This grant (dating only from 1919) was the corner-stone of the Society's finance, and was used mainly to provide basic salaries for the Principal, Vice-Principal, and secretarial staff.

In 1921 a general Appeal for the Women's Colleges was made, including a special appeal for our Society. A sum of about £500 was the result and formed the nucleus of a 'Tutorial Fund'.

In 1922 the report of the Oxford and Cambridge Royal Commission (which had taken evidence from the Non-Collegiate Societies as well as from the Colleges) made the following general recommendations with regard to Non-Collegiate students:

- (i) That they should be encouraged on the ground of economy;
- (ii) That part of the government grant should be expended on subsidies to Non-Collegiate bodies, so as to enable them

to provide a sufficient number of highly qualified teachers, and to give further support to poor students, and to secure such improvements as may be required in the central rooms to which Non-Collegiate students resort for work and recreation. The stipends of the Principals should be fixed.

These recommendations have formed the basis of the financial policy of our Delegates, and of the University in its relation to the Society.

Though compelled from time to time to increase the fees charged to students, the Society has sought to keep them as low as is compatible with efficient administration, while the University has given grants to an increasing extent towards the provision of adequate salaries for the Principal and Tutors and administrative staff. It has also helped with the establishment of central accommodation in the first instance at Jowett Walk and later at Musgrave House.

The first grants made by the University were paid out of its General Fund, but in 1925 a specific allotment was made out of the Government Grant as recommended by the Royal Commission and such grants have continued up to the present day.

The development and security of the Society has largely been achieved through the generosity of benefactors. A list of the most substantial of these benefactions follows:

1921. Ethel Simon Scholarship.

1921. Bertha Johnson Scholarship.

1925. The Cassel Fund of £10,000. This made it possible to fix small basic salaries for tutors and to bring them into the 'Federated Superannuation System for Universities'.

1929. The Hartland Trust Fund.

1930. The Gamble Fund of £2,000 for Scholarships.

1934. The Musgrave bequest.

1938. A house and £1,000 bequeathed by Miss Rogers for the benefit of the Library.

1942. The Hadow Memorial Fund. £516 was handed over for the benefit of the Society's Loans and Grants Fund, founded

at an early date, built up by successive benefactions and allocations from the Society's General Fund. The remainder of the Hadow Fund will be used for the equipment of a Hadow room in the new Building.

1945. St. Anne's Scholarship in Modern History.

1945. The Hartland bequest.

THE CHANGE FROM SOCIETY TO COLLEGE

THE years between 1946 and 1950 saw a steady development of St. Anne's. With the money from the Hartland Bequest* more houses were bought and equipped as hostels. Though to many of the older generation the idea of collegiate status seemed not only impracticable but undesirable, to others (including myself) it seemed to be a natural development, the only uncertainty being that of the actual date. It proved to be a much earlier one than could have been expected.

By 1950, out of two hundred and fifty-seven students '*in statu pupillari*', two hundred and thirteen were in hostels belonging to or controlled by St. Anne's. Four lived with parents, five with guardians, seventeen in private houses with hostesses. Eighteen of 'mature age' were also in 'approved' houses; ignoring these, who would have 'lived out' in any college, it could be truly said that the proportion of undergraduates living in buildings directly administered by the Delegacy, or by those ladies and the Religious Orders who had for many years loyally co-operated with the Principal, was actually higher than that of the women in the other four Societies, and far higher than was the case in an average men's college. The Society was in fact, if not in name, a residential institution.

It was in its government and status that St. Anne's now differed from the women's colleges. It was ruled as a Delegacy of the University, whose members were appointed *ex officio* or by a University body, except for the four tutors who were elected by the Tutors' Meeting.

*See II, 88.

In practice, harmony prevailed, and the Delegates always heard with respect views put forward by the tutors; in theory, however, the wishes of the whole teaching body could be completely ignored by those who formed the majority. Secondly, the Society now owned much real property and had an income of about £15,000, distinct from the sum of about £3,000 a year which the University granted to make up its deficiencies. Yet the whole of this property and of this income fell under the regulations of the University Chest.

It was this last situation which brought to the fore the idea of incorporation as an immediate, not a remote, possibility. New financial procedure introduced for University Departments proved wholly unsuitable for an institution which was, for all practical purposes, as distinct from the University as were the Colleges. On January 20th, 1950, the problems involved were laid before the Tutors' Meeting by the Principal, and at their first meeting of the Hilary term the Delegates, *nem. con.*, strongly supported the Tutors in resisting the proposed financial arrangements. In his reply, later in the term, to the protests, the Vice-Chancellor suggested that, in view of the exceptional position of St. Anne's, incorporation should be considered. This notion was seized on with acclamation by the Tutors; in public, the Principal merely pointed out that the proposal had not come from the Delegacy, although she herself was convinced that the Society should be moving towards the goal of independence.

The coincidence that during the spring of 1950 the next section of the Hartland House building had been authorized by the Trustees of the original Hartland Trust, approved by the varied public authorities

involved, and the actual work set on foot, undoubtedly strengthened the case for incorporation. St. Anne's had two centres, so to speak; Hartland House, the focus of academic activity, with lecture rooms and the library; Musgrave House, where the Principal lived and the administrative offices and common rooms were. When the new buildings were complete, the Principal would move to Woodstock Road, and the offices, common rooms, and tutors' rooms would all be under one roof.

Two principal difficulties were raised, especially by the other women's colleges who approved the principle of independence. One was the peculiar character of the residential arrangements, which had led to St. Anne's having an authorized membership greater than that allowed to the colleges; the other was the financial system, by which fees lower than those of other Societies were charged and a subsidy was received from University funds.

On May 1st a Memorandum from the Principal, followed by others clarifying different issues, placed the whole position clearly before the Delegates. I myself was able to point out from my own experience the evolution of the Society since the days when I was appointed by Mrs Johnson. The facts that the Hartland money had revolutionized our position, and that our benefactress had clearly anticipated incorporation, were also given due weight. The other tutor delegates expressed their view that though, in the position they themselves held in the University, in the quality of the undergraduates, and, indeed, in all the essential aspects of University life, St. Anne's was on a par with the colleges, yet so far as the world outside Oxford went this was not true. The name of College was, and rightly was, significant. The result of this meeting was the carrying of a

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resolution, *nem. con.*, that the Hebdomadal Council should be asked to consider incorporation. Council replied asking for detailed proposals.

A busy time of constitution-making followed. On two main points all were agreed; that the tutors should be Fellows and full members of the Council of the new college, and that the traditions of the Society should be maintained by the inclusion of men who, as Delegates, had shared in the organization and development of St. Anne's. The difficulties put forward were dealt with by the Principal, who was able to show how much the residential system had been misunderstood. The raising of fees not only helped to meet the colleges' justifiable objections but also went a good way towards meeting the problems of finance. The University itself assisted by a re-arrangement of the permitted number of women students in Oxford and by financial help given over the transitional period. The Charter of Incorporation, based on those of the other women's colleges, was finally drawn up.

It had been achieved without endangering the peculiar characteristic of St. Anne's, the absence of the 'institutional' atmosphere. The compromise between the original system of living at home, or in other private houses, and the normal conception of corporate residence was retained in the small hostels which had naturally evolved to meet immediate needs. Groups large enough to offer each undergraduate the feeling of being an individual, with a choice of daily companionship with girls of other years and reading other subjects than her own, were to be the pattern of living, while the corporate life of the whole body was concentrated on the library, lecture rooms, tutors' rooms and common rooms in Hartland House. This new building was actually



THE PRINCIPAL
Hon. E. Plumer



THE CHANCELLOR
Lord Halifax



THE ARCHITECT
Sir Giles Scott

occupied at the beginning of Hilary term, 1952, when the Bishop of Oxford (Dr Kirk) held a service of dedication.

Over the legal formalities of incorporation there was some delay, as they required the double approval of the University and the Crown. The Statute passed by Congregation on June 26th, 1951, was 'to come into operation on the day on which the Society receives its Charter of Incorporation'. It had been hoped that the whole business would have been over before the formal opening of the new buildings, but plans had to be made for this well in advance and the ceremony took place on May 28th, 1952. The occasion was quite a University affair. The Vice-Chancellor entertained the Principal and others at a luncheon party. The Chancellor, Lord Halifax, opened the door in the presence of a large gathering. General admiration was expressed of the new building, especially of the two common rooms. The Junior Common Room was declared by one authority to be the finest in Oxford, and Miss Griffiths' furnishing of the Hadow Room led to the hearty congratulations she richly deserved.

The lamented death of the King delayed proceedings with regard to the Charter, but on April 29th, 1952, Queen Elizabeth II signed it, and the Great Seal was attached to it on May 19th. Congregation had once more to pass the Statute (June 3rd). On May 5th the last meeting of the Delegates took place; on June 2nd the Council of St. Anne's College assembled for the first time. Here were the Principal and all the Tutors, now Fellows; one member elected by the Hebdomadal Council to retain the old close connection; and five persons elected by the Council itself, to whom two more could be co-opted if desired. The opportunity was taken to secure the continued help of men who had served

as Delegates and knew intimately the problems of St. Anne's. The Bishop of Oxford was appointed Visitor *ex officio*. The coat of arms, always a problem for a new foundation, was, by the consent of the Principal and her family, a modification of that granted in 1920 to her father, Field-Marshal Viscount Plumer. The motto is an inspiring one, suitable for a young college which is also an old institution, *Consulto et Audacter*.

One of the first duties of the new Council was the very pleasant one of adding to the small number of post-graduate studentships available for women. A bequest of £1,300 from Miss Una Goodwin made this possible, and it bears her name. A number of problems, of course, arose and had to be settled, a number of adjustments made. Miss Plumer had postponed her retirement to see the College through its first year. In 1953 she left us, handing over to her successor, Lady Ogilvie, an institution whose foundations were firmly laid and whose traditions were living.

Perhaps the strongest of these was connected with the pattern of residence, already stressed above. Before she left Miss Plumer had opened negotiations with St. John's College for the acquisition of the houses on the south side of Bevington Road, the leases of which would be falling into the hands of the owner of the freehold within a few years. These houses, as they became available, could be used as residences for undergraduates, thus perpetuating the 'group' or 'staircase' pattern as compared to the 'corridor', yet strengthening the corporate life of the College by physical proximity to Hartland House. The site now was a compact block, with space adequate for whatever developments later generations would desire.

In the financial situation of the new College this was a very bold step, even for a soldier's daughter. It was a fitting tribute to Miss Plumer's courageous leadership in this historic period that, on her retirement, the gratitude of the members of St. Anne's was expressed in the opening of a Plumer Fund to buy the land. When the fund was closed in January, 1956, about £14,000 had been contributed without any appeal to the general public. A few outside friends gave generously, but the bulk of the money came from past and present students. This really amazing response to the appeal showed how greatly her policy and her labours had been appreciated.

The Hartland Trust was in due course wound up, and the whole property vested in the College, as Mrs Hartland had anticipated. One thing more was needed, a dining hall for common meals and for meetings. This has now been secured, though the actual building has not yet begun (June, 1957). A grant from the University Grants Committee will allow—not the completion of the original plan of Hartland House, for building in stone is prohibitively costly at this time—but the erection of a harmonious building along the Woodstock Road frontage. This, it is to be expected, will not only immensely strengthen the corporate life of the College but will add to the beauty of the City of Oxford and prove that this age too can produce worthy buildings.

Thus, in the summer of 1957, I can add this supplement to Miss Butler's History, rejoicing in the remarkable developments, which have given to the Society I joined in 1919 everything I had hoped it would obtain, and have yet retained for it all that I loved and admired.

M. D. R. Leys

July, 1957

COUNCIL OF ST. ANNE'S COLLEGE

TRINITY TERM, 1952

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